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hominis quam totius Ecclesiae Intelligentia, Scientia, Sapientia."

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THE DUBLIN REVIEW

THIRD SERIES.—No. XLIV.

OCTOBER, 1889.

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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1889.

ART. I.—W. G. WARD AND THE OXFORD
MOVEMENT.

William George Ward and the Oxford Movement. By
WILFRID WARD. London & New York: Macmillan & Co.
1889.

THE volume before us, and its reception by the periodical press, are proofs, were proofs needed, that the interest felt in the history of the Tractarian Movement is still great; and that, after the lapse of half a century, this interest remains unabated. A slight attention paid to the current literature of the day justifies this opinion. As each prominent actor in the drama which first awakened and then shook to its base the Established Church of England disappears in turn from the scene, his share in the events and his contribution to the polemics of those stirring times are diligently collected, are carefully annotated, and moreover, when published, are eagerly read both by friend and foe. We doubt if any other equally short period of religious excitement, in any era of Protestantism, has ever been so largely discussed, or so critically examined; or, whether the views and aims, the hopes and fears, the writings or the actions of any equally small body of men have ever been subjected to so microscopic a scrutiny. A light, almost electric in brightness, has been shed both on the thought and on the thinkers of the Oxford Movement, and its progress from 1835 to 1845. If we fail to realize the complicated and intricate phase of thought and action called Tractarianism, it is not from a lack of material upon which to form a judgment. Were it comprehensible, we ought to understand it. And yet, we feel convinced that many intelligent Catholics even now fail to do so, or fail to grasp the reasons which caused many honest and exceptionally able men to take years in

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effecting a change in their life which, with their avowed object and belief, might have been and ought to have been accomplished in a much shorter period. We wish it might be reasonably hoped that, after studying the deeply interesting work whose title stands at the head of these pages, they would find the task easier. We fear such a hope cannot be entertained. That having been once commenced, the book will be carefully perused there is no doubt; for all must find engrossing the record of the working of Mr. W. G. Ward's active and powerful intellect, and of his wide and philosophical mind. The manner, too, in which a gifted son has reproduced the story of a gifted father's earlier career, will add much to the reader's enjoyment. His skilful and happy mingling of the light and of the serious; his clear analyses of his father's opinions and philosophy; his own valuable and scholar-like *résumé* of the revival in which his father took so prominent a share—are beyond praise. But, Mr. Ward's position and ideas when still an Anglican are even more difficult to understand than those of most Tractarians: and from his written life Catholics will not receive much help in mastering the Oxford Movement. One thought, however, may make the mystery less unintelligible. Catholics must be reminded that the phase of which we have spoken was emphatically and literally designated a "movement" by those who initiated it: and from the first it disclaimed any finality as a religious system. Now, a movement possesses some of the characteristics of a road, along which we may be supposed to pass: and although "all roads lead to Rome," whether the way be long or short, or whether the movement shall be fast or slow, is in God's hands, and in His hands only.

It will be impossible, Mr. Wilfrid Ward reminds us, to understand his father's position at Oxford, without a strong effort of imagination, by which we transplant ourselves into the England of fifty or sixty years ago. We then find a period of reviving earnestness which, to quote Dean Stanley's words, both "in feeling and speculation bore the impress of the deeper seriousness breathed into the minds of men by the convulsions of the French Revolution." Not only in England were intellects active, but the whole of Europe was alive with new thoughts and new ideas, with fresh views and fresh aims—though with these we are not now concerned. Thought was sufficiently busy with us at home to command all our attention. Here, fundamental changes were being advocated both in Church and State; and for awhile no serious attempt was made on the Conservative side to stay the hand of the destroyer. The Radicalism of the two Mills, founded on the philosophy of Bentham, and advocated, amongst others, by the eloquent pen of George Grote, demanded the reform of the constitution and of the law, and the destruction of the aristocracy

and of the Established Religion. It is with the Church of England that we now propose to deal, as it is chiefly in connection with this body that Mr. Ward's early activity was exercised. We are told that, at this date, it was the object of the elder Mill's "greatest detestation"; and from the sloth by which she was then oppressed and the abuses with which she was then honey-combed, such "detestation" may not have been altogether unmerited.

But, there is another side to the picture, and although about 1830 the destructive school of philosophical Radicals was the most active and enthusiastic, and perhaps the one most in harmony with the thought of the age, it is not only the enemies of the Establishment who at this date are active. Whilst the Radicals are engaged in slaying the dead, and procuring an easy triumph by the denunciation of flagrant abuses, Dr. Arnold and Mr. Newman, two very different men, with two very different schemes of reform, are equally exercised by the undoubted blemishes which disfigure their spiritual mother. They contend, at the same time, that her failings are no inherent part of her religious system, but mere accidental failings to be removed by a skilful pruning-knife. It is evident that the Church must be reformed if she is to be saved, and this work is now commenced by both Arnold and Newman. Both dreaded the active Liberal spirit, and both were anxious to undermine its influence, and to neutralize through and by means of the Establishment the mischief it was effecting. Both, moreover, fully realized that a different spirit must be energized into that body, if it was ever to influence earnest and thoughtful men, and to combat with success the keen and intelligent force against which it was to fight.

So far Newman and Arnold may be said to agree. But, here they part company; and they differ fundamentally as to the way in which the Church is to be reformed and as to how the Establishment is to be saved. To state briefly the scheme of each, we may say that Arnold wished so far to enlarge the barriers of the Establishment as to admit within its fold all so-called orthodox Dissenters. In fact, he wished to go a certain way in a Liberal direction, and to strengthen the Church of England by means of almost universal comprehension. Newman, on the contrary, would narrow her boundaries. He took his ground on the Catholicity of the English Church, in which those who stood outside her communion could have no share. He was met here by a further difficulty, and one of an opposite nature to the Liberal foe. He was fully alive to the fact that a spirit which he would gladly have seen working in the Establishment was, at that very time, an active and living force in the Church of Rome. Care must therefore be taken lest, whilst saving souls from the Scylla

of Liberalism, they should be driven into the Charybdis of Popery. This middle course Newman thought might be steered, by making an appeal to antiquity. Such an appeal, he argued, whilst being a safeguard against Rome, opened out so attractive a prospect, that from its inherent merits it would be universally accepted, and would breathe life and reality into an apparently stagnant body. Arnold's aim, therefore, was to give to the English Church the Liberal disease in so innocent a form that she might escape its full malignity; whilst Newman, in a like spirit, hoped by inoculating his communion with Catholicity, to protect it from the dreaded fever of Popery.

Mr. Ward belonged to both parties in turn. In early life the philosophy of Bentham and Mill attracted him. "Ward was a born logician; and the method of such writers appealed strongly to such an intellect," writes his friend, Mozley. Moreover, these philosophers were free from all mistiness and uncertainty of expression, faults which Ward specially disliked; and he admired, too, the boldness and courage with which they would challenge popular prejudice and delusion, a courage and boldness which he himself could hardly exceed.

The utilitarian influence, however, was not to last long; for, though it satisfied Mr. Ward's intellect, it left unsatisfied his religious sense which was the deeper and stronger side of his nature. His determination that his whole life should be devoted to the advancement of God's glory, found no encouragement in Bentham's dry philosophy. It was reserved for Arnold, under whose influence Ward, through his friendship with Arthur Stanley, was now brought, to satisfy for awhile both his intelligence and his religious feeling; for, whilst his teaching recognized Ward's higher aims, it, at the same time, profoundly touched his heart. Moreover, Arnold had all his own hatred of worldliness and unreality, and his ethical earnestness and elevation of moral purpose were alone enough, when fully recognized, to secure Ward as a disciple. He found in Arnold's teaching no bare theory, barren of practical use, no symptoms of the "unfeeling, unmeaning Protestant spirit," which for years had oppressed his soul, and in its unceasing din of self-laudation "had stunned his ears with the most miserable watchwords, evangelical truth, and apostolic order, and such like"; but, the positive inculcation of the practical way of carrying out Gospel precepts, of a rule of life for self-improvement and self-discipline, and of the means of "utilizing all religious belief in the struggle for God against evil." In doctrine, Arnold advocated a free and liberal interpretation of the Bible; and his tendency was to think slightly of doctrinal differences, as long as they did not overpass a somewhat shadowy line.

Here, for awhile, Ward found satisfaction both for his intelligence and for his moral sense. Arnold's influence, however, was mainly spiritual and personal; and as it rested on no consistent dogmatic basis, we are not surprised to find that, as years went by, that which satisfied Dr. Arnold no longer satisfied Mr. Ward. His appreciation of Arnold's ethical teaching remained as great as ever; but he came to realize, that it required a firmer basis than Arnold's spirit of free inquiry and private judgment. Granted Arnold's premisses, his conclusions were edifying. The spirit of free inquiry when applied to Scripture, was able to furnish him with sufficient dogmatic belief on which to ground his moral teaching. Free inquiry, however, is a ball apt to run further and more widely of the mark than he who first starts it either expects or desires. Hence Ward, no longer content to rest at what free inquiry might find in Scripture, saw it required, further, that proof should be forthcoming, not only of the inspiration of Scripture, but of the fact of revelation, indeed even of the very existence of God Himself.

This weight—Ward, throughout his life, consistently maintained—free inquiry, or any intellectual method whatsoever, is unequal to sustain. Had the believer no other weapon to trust in, the victory, he felt, must rest with the infidel, or at best with the Agnostic. Moreover, to the mass of mankind, it is obvious that free inquiry could mean little. The mere examination of the different views on many subjects would require more time than an ordinary human being could command. There must be a shorter road to truth, which for awhile Ward is at a loss to find. His strong and intuitive religious feeling seems, however, to have preserved him from any doubt that there was a road, and from the temptation to fall away from all faith in a divine message to man.

As we have said, Mr. Ward never wavered in his appreciation of Dr. Arnold's ethical system, and when it failed him intellectually, his son tells us :

He was led to recognize, first, that the basis of his trust in Arnold was mainly a moral basis—resting on the intuitive perceptions of the spiritual nature, and next, that the basis, if fully realized, involved principles which would lead him to recognize conscience and not intellect as the supreme guide in religious inquiry. Conscience was the primary informant, as being directly conversant with the moral nature of the individual, and with the first principles which that nature implied, and also as giving him instinctive trust in others whose moral perceptions were wider and truer than his own (p. 73).

With his strong sense of the supremacy of conscience, and remembering that he was at Oxford at the time when Newman's powerful influence was at its height, it might with certainty

have been predicted that Ward would fall under such influence when once it was brought to bear upon him. His apparent change from Arnoldism to Newmanism was more of the nature of a logical development, than the adoption of a fundamentally different system. True, Newman and Arnold widely differed intellectually; but intellectually, Arnold had already failed Ward, and in Newman's moral teaching Ward soon discovered not a different, but a higher, a wider, and a deeper spirit than that of his earlier master. He there found a spirit, moreover, resting on a definite authority which satisfied a craving for a living guide, which Ward had ever experienced. "His earnest and constant cry in spiritual matters was 'Give me a guide . . . teach us the truth, for we cannot find it.'" He never wearied of quoting Carlyle's saying: "True guidance in return for loving obedience, did he but know it, is man's prime need."

There is another thought which Mr. Wilfrid Ward explains to us as being one that paved the way for the change of teachers by whom his father was influenced, and which helped him to substitute the formal and minute definitions of Newman's school for the loose creed of Liberalism. Ward's original tendency

had been, feeling the difficulty attending on all proof in matters of doctrine on the one hand, and on the other the absolute and undeniable reality of the conscience and the moral law, to minimize the former, and to insist on the latter. But when, as time went on, he came to feel that that very *minimum* of doctrine which was necessary as a support and sanction to the moral law, must fade away before the consistent application of the latitudinarian intellectual principles, the question presented itself, May there not be after all some indissoluble connection between the plenitude of doctrine and the highest morality? Those dogmas which I have looked on as burdens, may they not be after all as helpful to the full development of the moral life as belief in God's existence is indispensable to its first rudiments? Then, following on this came the conception of Church authority as the external embodiment of conscience, completing and defining both in religious knowledge and moral precept what conscience traced faintly and imperfectly: recognized by men of goodwill as the vicegerent of God in the world: confirming with a directly divine sanction those reasonings from Scripture which by themselves had seemed so imperfect, just as the arguments for God's existence seemed imperfect without the clear confirming voice of conscience to seal and secure them (p. 74).

Thus Ward's feeling of the moral importance of dogma grew into a fixed principle, and this, together with his fast developing conviction that it was by means of the Church that he was to know true from false doctrine, and real from false holiness, was sufficient to explain his adherence to the school of Newman; and we can already discern the ultimate direction which his steps will

take. Indeed, from the first he seems to have felt that his belief in a universal Church, and his acceptance of Catholic doctrine, constituted a frame of mind more in harmony with the Roman Church than with the Anglican communion.

As is well known, Newman's earlier scheme for Catholicizing England, called by him the *Via Media*, was soon discovered to be futile, and it was at the moment when he was first feeling uncertain of his earlier ground that his party was joined by Ward, Oakeley, Dalgairns, and some half-dozen other men of undoubted ability and weight. They were zealous, clever, and enthusiastic. By the sheer force of logic, they succeeded in turning the Movement into a different direction to the one originally projected; and, whilst they ruined the hopes of the main body of the first Tractarians, men like Pusey, Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Palmer, and Isaac Williams, they carried along with them the greater power of Newman himself.

The *Via Media* theory could, in no case, long have contented W. G. Ward. It did not go far enough to satisfy the stern demands of his logic. As usual, Ward went straight to first principles; and these, he saw, required that not only must the results of the Reformation be condemned, but that the spirit which initiated that revolt must be attacked. This was done to his satisfaction by the publication of Fronde's "*Remains*," a book approved of both by Newman and by Keble; and it was only after reading it that Ward was able to allow his intellectual assent to follow in harmony with the moral charm Newman exercised over him, and heartily to join lots with the Tractarians.

As we observed before, the Movement now changed its character. If the earlier Tractarians had been accused of fostering the errors of Rome, the new school seemed to glory in proving that their enemies were right. Newman tells us: "A new school of thought was arising . . . consisting of eager, acute, resolute minds . . . who had heard much of Rome." These, far from looking on Rome as corrupt, or as having added to the faith in one way as seriously as the Protestants had subtracted from it in another, considered her to be their living model. The Reformation was a sin: reunion with the Church of Rome was their aim. At first, it is true, a certain amount of trivial corruption, it was admitted, might disfigure their ideal, and reunion was to be accomplished on a sort of give-and-take system. England was frankly to admit her colossal faults, both in doctrine and discipline, and to own that both her written word and her living voice were conceived in heresy and schism: whilst Rome, it was gently hinted, would do well to induce Italian peasants to say more *Paters* and fewer *Aves*; and perhaps to advise Calabrian brigands to trust less in the potency of the leaden Madonna,

suspended round their neck, to carry them scathless through their nefarious practices, and to bring them pardon at the end of a day spent in murder and rapine. But mutual concession, even on this scale, soon ceased to be required: and the craving for reunion quickly developed into a simple desire that England should unconditionally throw herself at the feet of Rome.

We must follow Mr. Ward more closely through the journey which, starting from his strong sense of the value of conscience and its promptings, joined to the full importance of an external authority, such as is supplied by a visible Church, landed him, at length, safely in the Catholic communion. At starting, we see him occupying an exceptional position. He is able to view both the religion of which he was a born member and her greater rival, as an outsider. He has no prejudice against Rome to overcome, no constraining love to hold him tight in the meshes of Anglicanism. He dispassionately compares the two, and judges rightly, that whereas one is a living spiritual force, the other is merely one side of English life, in which opinion may be said to take the place of faith, and respectability that of a high standard of holiness. Ward was indeed specially alive to this last difference. He had ever attached greater weight to holy living than to any intellectual merit whatsoever, and felt strongly that "holy men are the great fountains from which moral and religious truth flow into the world." The mere consideration, therefore, of the high note of sanctity common to the Saints of the Church of Rome, forced him to give the preference to the communion which can boast of men like St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis Xavier, and other post-Reformation Saints. By their side, the merits of the Anglican worthies sank into utter insignificance.

Still, whatever might be the views of Ward and the small band of his extreme followers at this time, the position of the bulk of the Tractarians was that both Rome and England were portions of the Church; but that, whereas the one fell short of teaching, the other exceeded in her teaching, the original deposit of the faith. "There was, however, no need to inquire which of the two had deflected most from the Apostolic standard." They had no quixotic wish to reform Rome on the Anglican model; but they now steadily set to work to see how much Romanism the English Church would bear. In this work W. G. Ward was specially active. He began the study and propagation of Roman manuals of dogma, casuistry and ascetics. The spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius became his favourite devotion, and the theological science of the schoolmen and of the Jesuits his favourite study. His outward devotion found a congenial home in the Puseyite chapel in Margaret

Street, London, where his friend Mr. Oakeley officiated. Here, to a certain extent, Catholic practices were observed, fasts and feasts were duly noted, and what in those days was considered an advanced ritual found favour.

This last, Mr. Ward only valued in so far as he found it useful devotionally and ascetically. In impressive ceremonial he found an antidote to the scepticism which seems to have constantly tempted him. At times, the spiritual world appeared to him unreal, and the natural creation abounding in difficulties against the faith. On such occasions, he found remedies in the liturgical and ceremonial beauties of Catholic ritual, which, as appealing to his imagination, helped to dispel doubts which, his son tells us, were more imaginative than intellectual. Mr. Ward felt strongly that as the natural man receives religious help from natural beauty, so the Christian is aided to rise to the higher levels of devotion by the external helps of Catholic worship, by the "awe-inspiring ceremonial, the noble cathedral, the ravishing chant which form part of the Church's heritage, and which are due to the inspiring spirit by which she is energized." He once wrote, "An invisible Church would be a very sorry antagonist against so very visible a world"—and in the external magnificence of Catholic services he found a true note of visibility. As has been happily said by Mrs. Craven in her well-known and particularly charming family record, "*Le Récit d'une Sœur*": "On peut bien défier le monde, quand on est Catholique, de vous rien montrer qui égale ce que la religion vous fait voir, ou de vous faire éprouver rien qui surpasse ce qu'elle vous fait sentir" (Vol. i. p. 140, Ed. 33).

How long Mr. Ward might have been content to remain in so anomalous a position, had no outside force moved him forward, we cannot say. But such force was soon put in motion, and we now approach the time and the events which immediately preceded the failure of the Tractarian Movement. These gather mainly around Newman, and the publication of the famous *Tract Ninety*. At no period has thought been more active at Oxford, or been more difficult rightly to understand and to explain. First, we find the stolid unintelligent opposition of the University authorities, which was supported from without by the "ignorant common-sense" of the angry Protestant public, whose interest was at length thoroughly aroused. The Oxford dons never adequately gauged the importance or the power of the Movement; and their inability to realize its force precipitated consequences which they, in the end, themselves deplored. They were wholly ignorant of the deep philosophical basis on which Catholicism rests. They never seriously realized that the idea of heroic sanctity which the Church first suggests and then fosters,

deeply impressed earnest natures, and held out an ideal for which the latter sought in vain in their own communion. They looked on Roman tendencies as mere sentimentalism, and considered those who indulged in them "more as a set of refractory school-boys than as serious men."

In addition to the open Protestant opposition, within the Movement itself there were currents and counter-currents, strong wills and eloquent voices severally working for divers ends. The elder Tractarians, such as Dr. Pusey, already thought the Tracts went too far; whilst the more recent disciples, such as Mr. Ward, urged their authors to go still further. Above these, and still uncertain into which scale truth will force him to cast his weight, and on whose utterances all waited, stood Newman himself. His first scheme had collapsed; the *Via Media* had failed him. He had realized—no, that is too strong a term—he had seen a vision, in which Rome, after all, was right; and now he no longer felt full confidence in the Anglican position. Still, his doubt in the English Church *might* be a delusion, and he was unwilling publicly to commit himself to decisions which in the event would prove to have been unneeded, and to wound friends when he would have done better to spare them. This gave an uncertainty and a halting appearance, at this time, to Newman's words. They only mirrored the state of his mind. His love for Pusey and his earlier friends restrained him, whereas Ward's logic, whilst it seems often to have tried and annoyed him, forced Newman forward. No doubt Ward pressed his leader hardly. If Newman but gave a slight cue, Ward would follow it to its furthest conclusions. And when Newman had assented, or perhaps rather, had *not* dissented from these, Ward again would maintain that still more extreme doctrines must be their result, and for these would claim Newman's sanction. Mr. Wilfrid Ward tells us how Newman "loved to give his thoughts to the world as a poet does, suggestively, subjectively, informally, incompletely, leaving it to others to learn what they could from him, but disliking and distrusting all pretence at full analyses." This did not suit Ward. His dialectic mind never rested until he had forced the full meaning from an admission, and had carried a premiss to its final conclusion; and he would throw Newman's views and their consequences into a definite logical form, "by translating them from the language of suggestion into that of complete categorical statement."

It may, then, not be untrue, as Archbishop Tait has said, speaking of Tract Ninety: "Ward worried Newman into writing it." It may have come about somewhat thus. As we have seen, Ward at this time, though hoping for reunion with Rome, was unwilling to make his individual submission to her. Reunion of

the two communions was his aim. His knowledge of Catholic theology, however, was sufficiently great to assure him that on one point he could expect no help from Rome. Vague as are most Anglican ideas as to the claims of the Church to teach truth, he at any rate must have felt sure that, for no inducement whatsoever, would Rome modify or change one iota of her explicit teaching or of her formal definitions. "The Articles in the future must include the decrees of Trent." Now, it was popularly supposed that against these very decrees the main force of the Thirty-nine Articles, as they now stand, was directed. They must then be either differently explained, or even explained away, if Mr. Ward and his friends were to be rescued from a false position.

Although subscription to these formularies was then the only inlet both to the University and to Anglican Orders, from his antecedents we imagine that Mr. Ward can have felt little respect for them. For, had he not already been driven to accept them in two different and antagonistic senses? When ordained deacon, he had been still under Arnold's influence, and although the task was difficult, he succeeded in assenting to them in the Liberal sense. When, however, he presented himself as a candidate for the Anglican priesthood all was changed. He was now a zealous Newmanite, and the work of harmonizing the Protestant standard of doctrine with his own views was even harder than before. It was, however, somehow accomplished; and with a curious mental twist, Ward subscribed to the Articles in what, he afterwards admitted, was a "non-natural sense." Of the manner in which he was able to reconcile his subscription with the honesty which was his special characteristic, we shall speak later on, when we shall have to record how he still further accentuated his own views on this point, with results which hastened his final action. We should therefore conclude that Ward's own mental history must have taught him to think slightly of the Articles in themselves. Still, they existed as a fact; and though impotent to bind men like himself, were still, in some hands, potent as weapons against Rome. Moreover, they contained statements to which Rome herself could point as good reasons for distrusting Anglican advances.

With the view, then, of snatching a scourge from the hands of Protestants, and at the same time of making things easier for men who, like Ward, were bent on reaching Rome somehow—either by accepting her themselves, or by inducing her to admit them corporately to her communion—Newman wrote *Tract Ninety*. Into its familiar arguments we need not enter. As it is well known, the main drift of the *Tract* lay in making subtle distinctions between what was held to be respectively the autho-

rized and the popular teaching of the Church of Rome; and in pleading that against this last only were the English Articles directed. Even when the Articles seemed to deny the definite teaching of the Church, it was held that on close inspection they were "ambiguous formularies," and that, as Mr. Wilfrid Ward says, "the Reformers themselves were not straightforward or honest men." In fact, that the authors of the Articles had consciously framed formularies that might take a Catholic or a Protestant colour, according to the glasses through which they were read; and which, whilst presenting an imposing outward show of Protestantism, carefully decided nothing which might prevent Catholic-minded men from accepting them.

The first result of Tract Ninety was the practical retirement of Newman from the Movement. Both in the Establishment and in the University the authorities attacked him, and he no longer felt that confidence in Anglicanism which might have made him indifferent to their behaviour. He had not, however, yet reached the absolute certainty which he must feel before making his submission to Rome. He therefore simply held aloof from controversy, left Oxford, and spent the years immediately preceding his reconciliation with the Church in quiet and seclusion with a few friends at Littlemore.

The retirement of Mr. Newman had the effect of still further increasing the difference between the extreme and the moderate Tractarians, and, in fact, of splitting the party in two. Newman's restraining influence once removed, Ward, Oakeley, and other like-minded men pressed forward in a more distinctly Roman direction, and advocated principles which Pusey could not sanction, and which Mr. Wilfrid Ward admits "could never secure permanent toleration in the Establishment." This naturally annoyed the moderate men, and their opposition was proportionately aggravated.

As Newman has told us, the younger school of High Churchmen "cut into the original Movement at an angle, and then set about turning it." So far, we have been following this change of direction, and it is now reaching its final issue. Its latest phase was exhibited in a series of articles which Ward and Oakeley contributed to the *British Critic*, and their views were still further enlarged on and exaggerated in Ward's last work of importance as an Anglican—"The Ideal of a Christian Church." As described by Mr. Wilfrid Ward, they were sufficiently startling. In the first place, he says:

The question whether the Anglican Church was in any sense a branch of the Church Universal was answered more and more doubtfully, and it was openly denied to have any of the external notes of a Church. Next, the protest against Roman corruptions grew gradually

more feeble; Roman doctrine was more and more fully accepted, until, in Mr. Ward's work, "The Ideal of a Christian Church," Rome was practically acknowledged as the divinely appointed guardian and teacher of religious truth. Finally, the old idea of working towards the reunion of Churches and calling for concessions on both sides with a view to this object, disappeared. The Pope was maintained to be normally Primate of Christendom, and the ultimate aim proposed for the English Church was, not reunion with, but submission to, Rome (pp. 211, 212).

Far from dwelling, as the earlier Tractarians had dwelt, on the more Catholic aspect of the English Prayer-book, Ward now frankly admitted that its Articles were Protestant, and were incapable of any Catholic interpretation. At the same time, he considered the Anglican formularies were so loosely worded, as not to preclude him from subscribing them whilst he accepted all Roman doctrine and practice. As if bent on making such statements still less palatable, he plainly told his fellow-countrymen that, if such doctrine and practice were not to be closely followed, it was only because English Churchmen were unfit to soar to heights so far above them. We can picture to ourselves the consternation of the average self-satisfied parson, when, in the pages of a professedly Church of England publication, he read of little except "the degraded condition of our prostrate Church," contrasted with a glowing picture of Rome's perfection, in which, indeed, England might yet have a part, would she, "repenting in sorrow and bitterness of heart her great sin of the sixteenth century, sue humbly at the feet of Rome for pardon and restoration."

Mr. Ward, at this time, seems to have admitted that possibly his position was anomalous, and that the Anglican authorities might condemn it. In such an event, he was prepared to accept such a sentence, and to own that the English Church was no place for him. In order to bring matters to a crisis, he began writing a pamphlet, which eventually grew into a big book—the once famous, but now little read, "Ideal of a Christian Church." In effect, this work was a challenge to the Anglican authorities. If it was allowed to pass unnoticed, Ward could boast that the most extreme Roman doctrine was tolerated within the pale of the Establishment; whilst, should it be attacked and condemned, the result would only hasten the change which in any case, we think, was inevitable. Luckily for him, his book was soon the centre round which the fast increasing indignation gathered, and the anger which the articles in the *British Critic* had first aroused, fairly exploded before a work, the chief note of which was a loud defiance of all popular religious prejudice.

In itself, the "Ideal of a Christian Church" was a volume of

six hundred closely printed pages, in which the author may be said to give a complete answer for the faith that was in him. It was an answer which, we believe, he had hardly to change, or even to modify, when he joined the Catholic Church; and was one which dealt alike with both sceptical and Protestant objections. No account of Mr. W. G. Ward would be complete without some detailed notice of it.

Ward begins by defining the aim of all religion to be personal sanctification and the soul's salvation. This must ever be the main work of the Church; and her external achievements, such as the conversion of the Roman Empire, the taming of the early barbarians, or the encouragement of art, science, and letters, are only of moment in so far as they help forward the salvation of individual souls.

Moreover, when we go further and inquire how is the Church practically to save souls, we find that she teaches two things as essential to salvation—faith in God's word, and obedience to God's will. "Mr. Ward held these two to be in their fullest sense most intimately connected—spiritual vision depending on obedience, and obedience presupposing the recognition of God's voice in the conscience."

As we have already seen in Ward's revolt from Arnold's teaching, he considered the intellect in itself as altogether incapable to discover religious truth. Alone and unsupported, he had found it powerless to prove even the existence of God. If he trusted to his intellect only, he was driven to deny that the human mind was capable of any knowledge outside the range of phenomena; and, with the Agnostic of to-day, it must be maintained that on all great religious, spiritual, and moral questions truth was unattainable.

It seems at first sight [says Mr. Wilfrid Ward] and on an intellectual examination of the popular proofs and evidences of natural and revealed religion, to be so imperfectly established, and to rest on evidence so uncertain in kind, and yet to involve such momentous and far-reaching conclusions, as not readily to justify belief in the first instance. And, again, its exhibitions seem at variance with each other. The moral codes of Buddhism, Mahometanism, Christianity, are in some respects directly opposed, and Christian revelation itself involves ideas at first sight contradictory, as where the Supreme Being is represented, on the one hand, as the embodiment of moral perfection, and yet, in the details of belief current among Christians as arbitrary, capricious, tyrannical, revengeful and the like—or where the conditions of a probation imposed by Infinite justice seem to be, in fact, unfair; or where children are said to suffer justly for their fathers' crimes. The whole class of knowledge known as religious will, then, be at first sight dismissed by the rational critic as the outgrowth of imagination and emotion, of fears and hopes, in the course of the varied history of

nations, with no sufficient basis in reason, and abounding in impossible and not over-moral conceptions (p. 252).

The remedy against the rejection of all religion, Ward discovers in the testimony for the reality of moral truth which he finds in conscience. Here, he has a more assured and trustworthy witness than intellect, and one, in which however much his intellect may question its teaching, he yet felt greater confidence. Moreover, this "still small voice," which may, in the loud turmoil of life, at first be hardly distinguished, will, by being followed, gradually grow louder and more distinct, until its guidance is clear and defined. "If duty perceived by conscience is something really existing and outside the individual, and inseparably bound up with the transcendental existences of which revelation speaks to us, it is in accordance with analogy to look for more accurate and full perception in these matters from the constant obedience to its voice." Moreover, in the Ideal Church, we are not left altogether to ourselves, but "men whose obedience has been more complete than our own will have, on the same principles, fuller insight into religious truth than ourselves, and will be our natural teachers." Saints and doctors will therefore come to our assistance, and holy men both of the past and of our own time will guide our hesitating footsteps in the right way.

We may define Mr. Ward's practical reason for preferring one form of religion to another, briefly as being the greater or the less realization of holiness which he discovers existing in a communion. The old test is still the true one: "By their fruits ye shall know them." In other words, conscience testifies to the fact that there is a world of religious and moral truth outside ourselves; but, whether a given voice professing to bring home to us such truth is to be trusted, must be learnt by experience. In so far as it corresponds to and develops our higher nature, shall we be disposed to rely on it; and as it is in the realms of sanctity that conscience has the fullest play, so is sanctity the note by which Mr. Ward would judge the trustworthiness and fidelity of a religious communion.

We may expect, therefore, that Mr. Ward's Ideal Church will be a training-school for holiness, and that it will do corporately that which would individually be the work of good Christian teachers in dealing with and training souls. She will direct them in life, and attend them at death. She will chide or console them as occasion arises. The erring she will correct; the incorrigible she will cast out. On the other hand, should she observe symptoms which might develop into heroic sanctity, she will be careful that such yearnings should not evaporate in useless and unreal aspirations, but will cherish them in homes of congenial piety, where, guided by the experience of centuries and

avoiding the quicksands in which unrestrained enthusiasm will infallibly lose itself, she will develop those "great visible notes of the Church," Catholic Saints. Moreover, as still holding to the close relationship between the two aspects of Christian duty, faith and obedience, the Ideal Church will be active in instructing men in true doctrine. She will therefore be rich in systematic works of moral, ascetic and mystical theology. Mr. Ward never wearies in insisting on the intimate connection between sanctity and true doctrine. He cannot and will not divorce one from the other: "Saints (he says) are the very hidden life of the Church, and saints cannot be nurtured on less than true doctrine."

From the above it will not be difficult for our readers to guess that it was not in the communion of which he was then a member that Mr. Ward found the realization of his Ideal. Indeed, his criticism of the English Church is most scathing; and he finds therein no good whatsoever. She falls short on every side, and, moreover, she is imbued with a spirit of self-satisfied conceit, which causes her to glory in her very shame, and which arouses Mr. Ward's special indignation. To speak plainly, he writes—

Believing, as I most firmly do, that ever since the schism of the sixteenth century the English Church has been swayed by a spirit of arrogance, self-contentment, and self-complacency, resembling rather an absolute infatuation than the imbecility of ordinary pride, which has stifled her energies, crippled her resources, frustrated all the efforts of her most devoted children to raise her from her existing degradation, I for one, however humble my position, will not be responsible for uttering one word, or implying one opinion which shall tend to foster so outrageous a delusion.

And true to this promise [adds Mr. Wilfrid Ward] he devotes a chapter to "our existing practical corruptions," the tone of which may be inferred from the heading of its several sections—"Absence of all system of moral discipline for the poor . . . for the rich." "Our Church's total neglect of her duties as guardians of and witness to morality . . . of orthodoxy." "Powerlessness of our Church to perform her other duties . . . helping the poor;" and so forth (pp. 278, 279).

Then again, looking at the Anglican body as a teacher, Mr. Ward is specially irritated by the intellectual inconsistencies which he discovers. The spirit of the Prayer-book, he tells us, is not simply different from, but is absolutely antagonistic to that of the Articles; and this difference is still further accentuated in her living voice, the most opposite and contradictory doctrines being held and taught by those holding her commission. Even on the one point of agreement amongst her clergy—viz., the purity, holiness and perfection of their body—divines on either side are

found to maintain, that if she really did teach that which their opponents severally and emphatically declare she does teach, she would be most corrupt. He acknowledged, it is true, that there might be quiet and acquiescent people for whom the Establishment was the right place, and who might find therein full play for any piety or enthusiasm *they* were likely to experience. "They felt no difficulty, because they saw no reality," and for such he did not write. But he judged rightly, that at this date another spirit was active, a spirit no longer content to accept conventional commonplaces on deeply moving subjects—a spirit which could not rest satisfied with explanations which stopped short of the root of a difficulty, and which sought an answer at the spring-head of ascertainable truth. Mr. Ward saw clearly whither such a spirit was leading; and it is such foresight on his part which makes his writings still valuable to-day, when what then existed only in the germ has now developed into openly proclaimed infidelity. This temper was confronted in the philosophical part of the "Ideal."

The more practical chapters of the book were addressed to High Churchmen of all schools. They were entreated to sink minor differences, and, starting with Catholic principles, to direct all their efforts to the un-Protestantizing of the National Church. Let them not be scared by the nightmare of Popery; but let them carry out their principles fearlessly to their legitimate conclusion. They might feel confident that if Popery be false, Catholic principles will stop short of it. Whereas, if Popery is the real issue of the principles of the Movement, let all be true to these, and as they grow towards Rome their fears and misapprehensions will vanish, and they will view her system very differently. For himself, Mr. Ward frankly admitted that already he considered Rome, and Rome of to-day, the model to which the Church of England must conform. Though not wishing as yet to force on his countrymen such foreign devotions as might be distasteful to the national character, he did not hide his conviction that, granted Catholic principles, the whole Roman system would in the end be accepted by them. None, at any rate, could level against him the accusation so freely launched at Newman—that of introducing Popery into the Establishment unawares.

The book had been eagerly expected, and at once roused the interest of men of very different schools of thought. The *Liberal Edinburgh Review* devoted an article to the "Development of Puseyism," and Mr. Gladstone attacked it severely in the *Quarterly*. Again, John Stuart Mill and Comte were attracted by its philosophy, and Sir William Hamilton expressed his deep interest in its general line of argument. The authorities at Oxford were mainly, at this date, mere conventional Churchmen;

and it is easy to believe that they "looked on it simply with horror, as a reckless and unsettling production." High Churchmen themselves, as a party, deeply resented it. With much of the book they really agreed; but, as a whole, it was too aggressive, and they were proportionately angry that valuable and important truths should be generally rejected, through Mr. Ward's failings of vehemence and exaggeration. His faults marred a work which, with greater discretion, might have been achieved. Even Newman, when he read Ward's contention that "members of the English Church were at liberty to look upon the existing Church of Rome as their authorized teacher," shook his head ominously and decreed, "It won't do."

A few personal adherents alone of Mr. Ward stood by the book. Still, for some months all was quiet, and the Oxford dons gave no sign. The "Ideal" was published in June 1845; it was not till October that rumours were heard that the authorities were moving in the matter. Soon after, a direct attack on Mr. Ward's position was commenced. The Vice-Chancellor published a notice to the University, in which he quoted six passages from the "Ideal," that were said to be inconsistent with the Thirty-nine Articles, and therefore with the good faith of Mr. W. G. Ward who had subscribed to the said Articles. It was further proposed that on the 13th February a Convocation should be held, when a resolution to the above effect would be proposed, and in the event of its passing, a second resolution, depriving Mr. Ward of his University degree, would follow. Again, it was suggested that a third motion should be brought forward. In this motion the sense in which, for the future, the Thirty-nine Articles were to be accepted was to be narrowed, and was defined to be that "in which they had been originally uttered, and in which the University accepted them."

Oxford at once was thrown into a state of great excitement, and we do not wonder at it. Had it been simply proposed to condemn the "Ideal," little opposition would have been experienced. Mr. Ward had not been conciliatory, and neither the matter nor the manner of the book secured it many friends. But, the imposing of the Articles in a new, definite and stricter sense was a different matter, and touched the Broad Churchman and the High Churchman alike. The Liberals were even louder than the Tractarians in denouncing the proposed proceedings; and protested loudly against the imposition of the new test, as likely to lead to endless practical difficulties. From Tait, Maurice, Dean Milman and other Liberal leaders, a vigorous plea was put forth for general toleration, whilst Newman and Pusey remained quiet. Keble and Moberly, however, both moderate High Churchmen, wrote in Ward's favour.

Ward himself, on learning the nature of the proceedings proposed to be taken, at once avowed the authorship, and accepted the full responsibility for the incriminating passages. His main contention throughout was, that his own subscription to the Articles was as honest as that of any other man at Oxford. His judges were, he maintained,

utterly unjustified in all consistency of logic in condemning him, because the Church to which they belonged was itself hopelessly inconsistent. If the rest of the Anglican formularies were consistent with the Articles, he had no *locus standi*. But, amid a hopeless jumble of inconsistent pledges, he remained free and untrammelled—and the Church remained convicted of folly and self-contradiction (p. 341).

It was probably not without a mischievous sense of delight that he prepared his defence, for there was ever a good deal of the *enfant terrible* about Mr. Ward, profound philosopher though he were; and his trial gave him a further opportunity of shocking the grave Protestant sense of Oxford, and another chance of hitting hard at his detested enemy, the Church of which he was a professed member.

The 13th February, 1845, the day of Mr. Ward's trial, will ever be a memorable day in the history of the Tractarian Movement. Anglican authority, both in Church and State, has since then frequently condemned Catholic principles; but we believe, this was the first occasion when an adverse judicial decision was pronounced, and they were declared to have no place in the Establishment. The day itself was cold and snowy, a circumstance which allowed the undergraduates to show their sympathies in an emphatic way, by pelting Ward's adversaries with snowballs. The trial was held in the Sheldonian Theatre, a large semicircular hall devoted to solemn and important academical purposes. To-day it was crowded with Masters of Arts and members of Convocation, many of whom were country clergymen, and likely to swell the majority against Mr. Ward. Even amongst these, however, he might find supporters, as the tide had lately to some extent turned in his favour, and the extremities to which the authorities had wished to go had worked a reaction. The projected test on subscribing to the Articles, of which we spoke above, they had already been forced to abandon; and had Ward only chosen to be more conciliatory in his address, the result of his trial might have been different. But Ward was no advocate of a policy of conciliation; and whilst the whole tone of his defence was calculated to wound his judges, it contained no word that could appease them. As a special favour he was allowed to deliver his speech in English, a privilege

which, had they known how well he could speak, it was believed the authorities would not have accorded him.

He commenced by deprecating the power of Convocation to try him; but, passing briefly over this, which was the really strong point of his case, he proceeded with his indictment against the illogical character of the Church of England. He contrasted the Articles one with another, then with different other parts of the Prayer-book, and again with the popular religious belief of average Churchmen. He then appealed in turn to each of the other parties in the Establishment, to prove that their subscription was more honest than his own. Had this all been done with tact, and in a different tone, and in a less aggressive spirit, it might have had a reassuring effect. But, Mr. Ward seems to have been bent on his own condemnation, and to have done his best to irritate his judges. No sooner did he make a point in his own favour, than he neutralized any good effect it might have by immediately adding, that it must be always remembered that he held the "whole cycle of Roman doctrine." "If," says Mr. Mozley, "he said once, he said twenty times in the course of his speech, 'I believe all the doctrines of the Church of Rome.'" One of the six indicted passages from the "Ideal" was the sentence: "Oh, most joyful! most wonderful! most unexpected sight! We find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing English Churchmen!" And far from softening down, or explaining away so startling an admission, his whole address was one long exultant claim in an extreme form for such liberty.

Mr. Ward's defence once finished, there was little more speech-making, and the assembly proceeded to vote. The result can have surprised no one. The condemnation of the six incriminating passages from the "Ideal" was carried by a large majority. The sentence of Mr. Ward's degradation also passed; though for this sentence, the majority dwindled to an insignificant figure; and a further attempt to include Tract Ninety in a like condemnation collapsed altogether. The Convocation then broke up, and Mr. Ward walked off with his Broad Church friend, Mr. Tait, amidst the cheers of the undergraduates.

It was thought, at first, that Mr. Ward might yet, by legal measures, avert the blow which the University had dealt him. More than one eminent lawyer considered that the Convocation of Oxford had exceeded its jurisdiction, and did not possess the power which it had ventured to exercise. The steps taken to avert Mr. Ward's degradation, however, were in the end abandoned, as it was found useless to proceed with a lawsuit which Mr. Ward's own action made nugatory. Events now

pushed on apace, and though he did not yet realize it, Mr. Ward's days in the Establishment were numbered.

From 1845 to 1851 the Tractarian Movement may be said to have been *in extremis*, and indeed to the greater number of its adherents, 1845 was the year of deliverance. Blow now quickly followed blow, and each defeat was succeeded by one still more bitter. Shortly after Mr. Ward's own condemnation came the well-known legal decision in the Stone-Altar case at St. Barnabas Church, Pimlico, "a decision which condemned the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice." To this succeeded an attack on Mr. Oakeley's chapel in Margaret Street, which, in spite of his resignation of the benefice, was followed up, and which ended in an emphatic condemnation of Oakeley's views and practices.

But even now, after these rebuffs, Ward still held on to the English Church a little longer, waiting he hardly knew why, or for what. There was truly but little to keep him. One by one the links which bound him to the religion of his birth had snapped. For long, he had felt assured that the Roman Church was the one true Church, and full communion with her was the deepest longing of his soul. His only reason for remaining so long in the Establishment had been the hope of bringing her corporately into the unity of the faith. But all was now changed, and such hope had waxed faint. His own position, too, had altered. The High Church party no longer trusted him; the University had degraded him; and what touched many, and none more than Ward himself—the great leader, without whose sanction he would not move, his "Pope" Newman, had at length allowed it to be known that his peace and security as an Anglican were at an end, and that his final step was not far distant. The sentence, "This is no place for us; let us go hence," had been delivered.

In the retired and secluded Oxfordshire village a great scene was being enacted—great in far-reaching consequences, though in itself, like so many epoch-making events, quietly, and to the outer world unknowingly, gone through—the scene in which England lost a great son, and the Church gained a great Cardinal. We all know the picture. It was a damp, misty October afternoon, the very elements conspiring to hide the deed from curious, or from unsympathetic eyes. The many spires of historic Oxford were near at hand—that town of inquiring youth and of venerable age, where the all-engrossing topic was, and still is, what may be the thoughts and what the next forward step of its latest teacher—that teacher whose voice had lately been hushed, but whose very silence and unwillingness to speak might yet prove more momentous and of deeper import than his most persuasive and eloquent words. The rain was pouring in

torrents, nature as it were weeping for Oxford's loss. His friends were depressed; his enemies were triumphant. For some days past no sign of life had emanated from his semi-monastic home at Littlemore. That somewhat stern, though most captivating and love-inspiring presence had been shrouded in complete privacy; even the most intimate friend had been asked to intermit his usual visits. Only a strange and alien figure had been seen to enter the door where a friend was no longer welcomed; an ecclesiastical-looking foreigner—a combination which was of almost deadly meaning to those who feared the worst, and whose most dreaded anticipations were realized. The whole scene was in keeping with the mystery which its actor was accused of loving. No outward sign was given; no loud or crude announcement was made; but an old friend, returning to the place which for a day had been left empty, heard the accustomed Latin words of the Divine Office pronounced in a foreign and unaccustomed way. A slight change it would seem; but, the altered vowels told their own tale, and to many ears a most sad one. The sweet singer of Israel will no longer sing to his own people; and the prophet will prophesy to the stranger. It is the enemy who, in the future, will profit by his gifts, to whom he will bring help in building up what before he had hoped to batter down, and in battering down what of old he had hoped to build up.

We have heard the history of many of the conversions of those eventful years, but none is more in keeping with the romantic and mysterious side of the Oxford Movement—of that side which endeared it to many of its most enthusiastic, if not its wisest adherents—than the memorable one of Newman, in October 1845.

Far different was it with Ward in his conversion. What to Newman was the tearing asunder of his very heart-strings was but a freedom from chains to Ward; and the outward surroundings of the two conversions were not out of harmony with the feelings respectively of each man.

It was Mrs. Ward's sudden announcement that she "could not stand it (*i.e.*, Anglicanism)," and that she "should go and be received into the Catholic Church," which actually brought matters to a crisis. It was Ward's answer, "A little sooner, or a little later makes no difference, I will go with you," which decided the event. Mr. and Mrs. Ward went up to London, and from bright May Fair lodgings went forth one September morning Protestants and returned home Catholics, both having been received into the Church at the Jesuit Chapel, which has since been replaced by the church in Farm Street. No doubt the change was not made hastily, or lightly; and to a man of Mr.

Ward's solid piety and religious feeling its full and joyful importance was intensely realized. Still, it is not the serious side of his act which first strikes us, as we see Mr. Ward, doubtless radiantly happy, seated at his cheerful breakfast-table on this momentous morning. The object of his journey to London had been correctly surmised at Oxford; and he finds his desk literally covered with squibs and pasquinades on his reception, which he forthwith reads with the delight a good joke always afforded him. Nor, again, are solemn impressions foremost, as we see him, following his director's advice, going as often as possible to the theatre in the days immediately following his submission to the Church.

But it was by no means all jokes and play-going. No convert whom we could name had deeper reasons to rejoice at his change than Mr. Ward; for none had ever felt Anglicanism to be more narrowing or uncongenial. Now, a new world of unrestrained devotion and of spiritual happiness opened before him. He had long loved this "mighty Mother," as the home of his highest aspirations and of his holiest affections. Her theology he knew as thoroughly as was possible to a Protestant; he constantly recited her Offices; and if he can be said to have had romantic or unreasoned feelings for anything in the world, they all centred round the existing Church of Rome. Here he found the freedom which was essential to his soul, and without which he could do nothing; whilst the lines outside which he might not stray were clearly defined, by an authority which he felt no wish to question. It was not license that he coveted; no, it was only against the "cold, cramping, stifling uniformity" of the Establishment that he chafed. It was against a uniformity founded on no consistent basis, and enforced by no authority that he could respect. It was against an authority which, whilst claiming obedience, disclaimed infallibility; against a voice which, whilst professing to interpret the Christian message to mankind, was in reality merely the echo of the opinions of various sixteenth century divines—divines whom Mr. Ward had not hesitated to denounce as both traitors and perjurers. No wonder he was glad to go. The wonder was that he had "stood it" so long.

Mr. Oakeley, Ward's loyal, consistent and devoted friend, was received in the same year as himself. They shortly afterwards again found themselves near neighbours at the college of St. Edmund, Ware. Here Mr. Oakeley was studying for the priesthood, and Mr. Ward, having built himself a small house in the grounds, spent some happy years teaching theology to the students. We are told how the two friends would often contrast the peaceful present with the rough years through which they had lately passed; and would dwell, in a spirit of thankfulness,

on the storms from which they had escaped. It strikes us, however, that such complaints of the years gone by were not unlike those which the wind and the rain might unite in addressing to the weather. Had they not created it, no tempest would have arisen; and Oxford would have been content to sleep on in her death-like peace.

With his conversion, Mr. Ward's connection with the Oxford Movement naturally ends. Indeed, the Movement itself was nearing its close. Each week, almost each day, at this time, brought important names into the Church; and, although some well-known Tractarians hung back for a few more years, an adverse legal decision, on a fundamental question of Christian doctrine in 1851, opened their eyes to the true character of their communion; and the converts of 1845 were then joined by a large influx of former friends and fellow-workers.

It is, of course, true that High Churchmen still exist in the Establishment, and even that they are probably more numerous to-day than in 1845. But, they no longer form a united body of consistent thinkers, agreeing and working together for one definite aim. They are rather a collection of disconnected atoms, each one acting as his own Pope; and both in faith and practice each one holding and doing that which is right in his own eyes alone. If we examine more closely any apparent High Church success of late years, we shall discover that it is due to the triumph of Liberal opinions, rather than of Catholic principles; and is more a sign that Arnold's scheme of universal comprehension is still spreading, than that Newman's futile effort to Catholicize the Establishment has succeeded. It is true, that an English clergyman may to-day preach a doctrine indistinguishable from that of the Mass, and remain unmolested. Toleration is the fashion; and he is allowed to profit by the general disinclination to define clearly what an Anglican may or may not publicly teach. But, let him attempt to enforce his belief as *the* faith of his Church, and not simply as one amongst the many different opinions permissible in the Established Religion, and he will find that so dogmatic a stand is hardly allowable. Now, if the Catholic faith affirms truth, it is equally potent in denying error: and an organized body gains nothing in Catholicity by the mere accident that some of its members have, so to say, stumbled on the truth in certain particulars; whilst at the same time they are powerless to prevent the opposite doctrines from being openly taught. The comprehensiveness of the National Church of to-day, which permits the teaching of Catholic truth, reminds us of the generosity of Pagan Rome. If only the early Christians would acknowledge her gods, she would willingly add our Lord's name to their ranks.

Let High Churchmen, then, before they boast loudly of the advance in popularity of their opinions, and point in triumph to their vested priests and lighted altars, to confessions made openly in their churches, or even to those houses of pious women where the philanthropic spirit of the age assumes a Catholic garb—consider why and how this all comes to be tolerated, though it is hardly at home, in the Establishment. Let them ask whether it is the result of the acceptance of the fundamental Catholic doctrines of a living Church, and of an infallible authority in religion, both as to doctrine and practice; or whether it is not merely the natural result of the Church of England's supine indifference to all doctrine, and of her inability to direct the practice of her children. We believe that, as a fact, the showy imitation of Catholicity which is now to be seen in some Anglican churches, must be heavily discounted; and that the debt which it owes to the latitudinarian spirit which has won the victory, will then be found to be large. There may be a gaudy flower; but, does it spring from a healthy root?

At this distance of time we may in some measure gauge the value of the Tractarian Movement, and looking backward may judge whether, on the whole, it ever had a chance of succeeding. We now see that it never had. With Newman, when first confronted with Ward's "Ideal," we too say emphatically, "It won't do." The Catholicizing of England through and by means of the Establishment, though no doubt a tempting dream, was merely a mighty effort to square the circle and to effect the impossible. England and Rome are still distinct, and they must remain so. The differences between the two communions are too fundamental to allow the one to be merged into the other. They differ on all points—in origin, in character, and in temper; in their aims and in their aspirations. They differ in practice, in devotion, and in doctrine; or, if in this last they sometimes seem to agree, it is on different grounds. They differ in their idea of worship. They differ as to the means by which God imparts to us His grace. The genius of the one is not the genius of the other; indeed, the shame of the younger is the very pride of the elder. It is not that a Catholic goes further than an Anglican, but that he travels in a different direction; and by no turn of the will nor twist of the mind can one man find himself consistently in harmony at one time with both systems. We need not speculate on what would happen to a Catholic were he to attempt to make the experiment, for no loyal Catholic will make it; but the whole history of the Tractarian Movement mainly consists in the intellectual contortions of a number of remarkably high-minded and gifted men, during their vain efforts to adjust the English Prayer-book and the

system of the English Church to the Catholic faith which they accepted. Even when the written word was in their favour, they were met by its practical denial in the living body of which they formed a part; whilst, as we have seen in Mr. Ward's case, the plainest and most binding formularies were so adverse from their pretensions that they had to be subscribed in a "non-natural sense."

Had the Oxford Movement been in harmony even with any large or popular phase of English thought, it had stood a better chance. But, although it is true that, in these years, there was something in the air which "made for Rome," this something was chiefly experienced by a few choice and imaginative spirits. It hardly touched the dogged mass of Englishmen, nor affected their ingrained hatred of Popery. This hatred was as bitter as in the days of the early Georges, and, as they firmly believed, was both based on and fostered by their National Church, which with the distinctness and plainness so dear to the blunt downright common-sense of Englishmen, asserted the Protestantism which it was the aim of the Movement to assail.

With such a public, what chance had Tractarianism? A system of subtle analysis, which qualified every assertion of a truth with the doubt of its being right to teach it; which required that words that said one thing should mean its exact opposite; and which would seem to justify open falsehood, because in the kernel of such a statement close reasoners might discover a germ of truth. Is it then wonderful that, instead of attracting, the Oxford Movement simply exasperated the English people? Our surprise is, not that one man, who specially courted attack, was degraded, but that the whole school of thought should so long have been tolerated; and that each member of the party was allowed his own time and his own way of leaving his uncongenial home. Indeed, on looking back on the provocation she received, we think that Protestant England may well be surprised at her own moderation!

ART. II.—PROFESSOR WEISMANN'S HYPOTHESES.

WE have now, thanks to Messrs. Poulton, Schönland & Shipley, an excellent translation of Professor Weismann's Essays.* These are specially concerned with the enigma of heredity—the question why and how it is that parental or other ancestral characters are transmitted to offspring in the constant way they are transmitted. The essays also treat, however, of other matters which are more or less related to their main subject—the duration of life in different species; the origin of death—and they treat very fully the question whether or not characters acquired during the lives of parent organisms are ever transmitted to their offspring?

These essays are of very great interest; for the subjects of which they treat—especially the problems of heredity—are those which now occupy the crest of the advancing wave of biological science. The importance of the questions with which they deal is shown by the fact that they have constituted one of the main subjects for discussion at the recent meeting of the British Association, and have also formed the matter of an address and subsequent discussion at a special meeting held at Oxford in September. Such questions should surely be known to Catholics, especially those for whom controversy and the explaining of difficulties is a duty. Although the volume we are reviewing contains statements of many valuable and more or less novel facts, it is mainly hypothetical, and thus harmonizes with what has become the scientific fashion of the day. Newton's boast, *Hypotheses non fingo*, was not only an inaccurate but a foolish one. For science cannot advance without the use of hypotheses. Nevertheless they may be employed in either a moderate and modest, or in a prodigal and too confident manner. Since 1859 the world has been inundated with a deluge of hypotheses. It was Charles Darwin who let loose upon us this flood, which has indeed occasioned an enormous amount of scientific activity very fruitful of results in various directions, although it has had the drawback of diverting many minds from positive to excessively speculative inquiries. A theory which made it possible to regard the *utility* of any structure or function, as being alone a sufficient cause for its *existence*, necessarily invited every kind of conjecture as to what might have been useful to ancestors which might have existed, under conditions which might have

* "Essays upon Heredity and kindred Biological Problems," by Dr. August Weismann. The Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1889.

been induced, by causes which might have co-operated and produced effects to the influence of which any given structure or function might have been due. Mr. Darwin set the fashion himself by endless appeals to our ignorance in favour of various conjectural possibilities, and, as we all know, he invented the hypothesis of sexual selection as well as the now generally discredited one of "Pangenesis," wherewith to bolster up his main hypothesis—the origin of species by natural selection. Hardly had that main hypothesis been promulgated, than hypothetical genealogical trees of animal and vegetal life sprang up with the rapidity of Jonah's gourd, not a few of them to wither with the like celerity.

Haeckel was one of the earliest and most zealous promoters of this kind of arboriculture, and his University of Jena became a very head-centre of this form of scientific activity. There, undeterred by repeated failures, even a Professorship of Phylogeny (the pseudo-science of drawing imaginary pedigrees) has been actually established, and will, we are persuaded, do good work by demonstrating that which it was not intended to show. We feel bound, however, to confess that we have now and again ourselves been tempted to take part in such speculations and to plant a few such trees. Nevertheless, in justice to ourselves we may call attention to the fact that from our first entrance into this arena of controversy we have strenuously maintained what we have termed * *the independent origin of similar structures*, and our very last scientific utterance † was made in support of that conception.

But not only have the more diverse kinds of animals and plants been called into ideal existence in the interests of Darwinism, but the actual organic world about us has been credited with real living organisms which owed their being to nothing but the too fervid imagination of biologists of the Darwinian school. Thus it is that we have had described, as a real creature, the renowned *Bathybius*—as exhibiting a sort of living raw-material of all higher organisms. Bathos indeed there was, but not where it was represented to be. More remarkable still, though much less known, is a lowly organism which was not only described by Professor Haeckel as a real sponge, but its two layers of cells were elaborately figured; and it seemed very conveniently to help out the Professor's imaginary genealogical tree of sponge and polyp life. Yet all the time the creature described was a mere Protozoon, and its double layer of cells had

* To this subject the whole third chapter of our "Genesis of Species" was devoted.

† See Proceedings of the Royal Society, vol. xliii. p. 373.

no existence whatever save in the mind of the credulous enthusiast * who had mentally evolved them.

But there is a legitimate as well as an illegitimate use of hypotheses, and indeed the very invention of untenable ones makes the construction of others almost inevitable. It has, therefore, been far from our intention, by these introductory remarks, to throw any discredit on Professor Weismann or his hypotheses. These we will now proceed to consider seriatim.

His first essay, "On the Duration of Life," was originally published in 1881. It is directed to maintain the thesis that the duration of life in each kind of creature has been determined (by variation and the action of natural selection) in such a way as to best conduce to the preservation of the species.†

He declares all previous attempts at explaining the duration of life to have been insufficient, and that (p. 6) "there must be some other additional cause contained in the organism as an unknown and *invisible part of its constitution*."‡ This statement we cordially accept, though not in the sense in which its author intends it.

It had been previously asserted that length of life is determined by the size of an organism. This he shows not to be the case, though admitting that there is some relation between the two attributes. We think that he somewhat underrates its closeness, as regards vertebrate animals. It is, however, true that length of life is not absolutely determined by size, complexity of organization and activity even taken together; since the queen-ant and workers live for years, while the males live but for a few weeks.

The Professor allows that a certain relation exists between length of life and the slowness with which vital processes are carried on; but this he explains by "the more rapid achievement of the aim and purpose § of life—viz., the attainment of ma-

* This enthusiast of Jena, who on every occasion proclaims his love of "free thought," has shown unmistakably what his real love for "freedom" of thought and conscience really is. In the preface to his biological romance, entitled "The Evolution of Man" (translated into English a few years ago), speaking of those who really did suffer for conscience sake in Germany during the Cultur-Kampf, he says: "We do indeed now enjoy the unusual pleasure of seeing '*most Christian bishops*' and Jesuits exiled and imprisoned."

† The same idea had independently occurred to Mr. A. R. Wallace. See p. 23.

‡ The italics are always ours unless it is otherwise stated.

§ The Professor says: "When I speak of the aim and purpose of life, I am only using figures of speech, and I do not mean to imply that nature is in any way working consciously." This expression is ambiguous; it should not, however, be taken to imply the denial of a Divine consciousness, but only that there is any consciousness innate in mere nature.

turity and the reproduction of the species." From his point of view, length of life, when once the period of reproduction is over, is a detriment to a species, save when such prolonged life is useful to an immature progeny. The duration of life varies greatly in different animals. Birds are generally long-lived, and a white-headed vulture has lived in captivity at Vienna for 118 years (p. 37). Insects and some more lowly animals are often long-lived, considering their size. Thus, Sir John Lubbock has kept a queen-ant alive for nearly fifteen years, and a beetle (*Buprestis splendens*) has been known (p. 47) to live over thirty years. A sea-anemone (*Actinia mesembryanthemum*) has been found capable of living for no less than sixty-six years. On the other hand, the *Ephemeridæ*, the Parthenogenetic* moth, *Solenobia*, and the males of *Psyche calcella*, live less than a day, after attaining their imago state.

The males and females of the same species have sometimes a very unequal length of life. The females of those parasites on bees known as *Strepsiptera*, will live for eight days, while the males only live for two or three hours, and the males of certain creatures of the shrimp-class,† have relatively very short lives. On the other hand, the male of the moth *Anglia tau* lives (p. 18) for a much longer period than does the female.

The Professor explains the relatively longer life of birds than of mammals, by the fact that birds require to produce so many young in order to compensate for the great destruction of their eggs; while the embryos of mammals are securely sheltered by the parental organism. By analogous considerations he would explain the very different periods which different insects pass in their larval and their perfect condition. He deems the duration of each stage, as well as the whole, of life to be a simple result of "natural selection." This leads him into an inquiry as to the "internal means by which such processes are rendered possible," and, as to "the origin of death" (p. 20). His conception is that the lowest, unicellular organisms have no natural death, but can continue indefinitely multiplying by spontaneous division, each division having an equal claim to be the continuation of the undivided predecessor. He regards all higher organisms as having resulted from the coherence of unicellular ones which did not divide completely, and found advantage in such coherence. Higher organisms when thus formed, and in which sexual reproduction had been initiated, could also live indefinitely; that is,

* Parthenogenetic animals are those which rarely, frequently or constantly, exhibit virgin reproduction, such as may be seen any day in the green Aphis, so common on the leaves of pelargoniums, kept in dwelling-rooms.

† Certain parasitic creatures (cirripeds and copepods) and entomostraca.

they could do so if the cells which composed their bodies went on (like the cells which were their ancestors) perpetually reproducing themselves. Should, however, this reproductive process stop, it must occasion the death of the complex organism built up of such non-reproductive cells. Races in which such cessation and consequent death occurred, would, he thinks, have been selected and preserved in the struggle for life with other races which were handicapped by the existence of useless mouths—that is, of perpetually living and feeding organisms whose reproductive processes had come to an end and been replaced by no function otherwise socially useful.

He tells us (p. 60):—

I think we may conclude with certainty from the unending duration of unicellular organisms, that such wearing out of tissue cells is a secondary adaptation, that the death of the cell, like general death, has arisen with the complex, higher organisms. Waste does not depend upon the intrinsic nature of the cells, as the primitive organisms prove to us, but it has appeared as an adaptation of the cells to the new conditions by which they are surrounded when they come into combination, and thus form the cell republic of the Metazoan* body. The replacement of the cells in the tissues must be more advantageous for the functions of the whole organism than the unlimited activity of the same cells, inasmuch as the power of single cells would be much increased by this means. In certain cases these advantages are obvious, as for example in many glands of which the secretions are made up of cast-off cells. Such cells must die and be separated from the organism or the secretion would come to an end. . . . In the process of growth, a certain degree of choice between the old cells which have performed their functions up to any particular time and the new ones which have appeared between them is, as it were, left to the organism. The organism may thus, figuratively speaking, venture to demand from the various specific cells of tissues a greater amount of work than they are able to bear, during the normal length of their life, and with the normal amount of their strength. The advantages gained by the whole organism might more than compensate for the disadvantage which follows from the disappearance of single cells.†

According to this conception, we may imagine the existence of an unceasing struggle and competition in each organism, of molecules with molecules, cells with cells, tissues with tissues, organs with organs, systems with systems, individuals with

* The higher animals the bodies of which are formed of "tissues," are called "*Metazoa*."

† The author refers to Roux's "*Der Kampf der Theile im Organismus*," (Jena, 1881), wherein an attempt is made to explain, by the help of mechanical conceptions, the manner in which division of labour has arisen amongst the cells of the higher organisms.

individuals, and species with species. According to it also, the advantage of the individual molecule will succumb to that of the cell; that of the cell to that of its tissue; that of the tissue to that of the organ; that of the organ to that of the system; that of the system to that of the individual; and that of the individual to that of the abstract species whereof the individual is a concrete example.

But how was this process initiated? Not to speak further of the hypothetical "molecules," how and why did cells which for ages had been immortal, give rise to others, some of which began to die?

Our author declares (p. 29) it to be "conceivable that all cells may possess the power of refusing to absorb nutriment, and therefore of ceasing to undergo further division." But how and why, in the name of all that is wonderful, should a cell begin to practise this abstinence? Of course it is "conceivable" that all cells may possess such a power. We may conceive of other far more extraordinary things; but to conceive of such, without a tittle of evidence, and then to treat such conceptions as facts, is hardly a legitimate use of the "scientific imagination."

With the intention of supporting his views as to the influence of hypothetical molecular activities in cells, he asks some questions which appear to us to need an answer widely different from that which he has himself in view. His words are:

Modern embryology affords us many proofs, in the segmentation of the ovum and in subsequent developmental changes, that the cause of the different forms of reproductive activity witnessed in cells, lies in the *essential nature* of the cells themselves. Why does the segmentation of one-half of certain eggs proceed twice as rapidly as that of the other half? Why does the number of cells produced *always remain* the same? Why does the multiplication of cells in every part take place with the exact amount of energy and rapidity necessary to produce the various *elevations, folds, invaginations, &c.*, in which the different organs and tissues have their origin, and from which finally the organism itself arises?

He also tells us that such phenomena show that the vital activity of the tissues is "regulated by *internal causes*."

Now in the development of the ovum and of the young, we have a process which is manifestly governed and controlled, *as a whole*, for a predetermined end of which the embryo itself has, of course, no knowledge. The various elevations, foldings, invaginations, &c., the gradual differentiation and completion of organs and the budding forth of members, cannot possibly be explained by powers innate in the *individual cells* which compose the nascent organism. It is plain that there must be some

diffused power of *general control*, harmonizing, subordinating, and bringing together the various fractional parts of the process, to one combined and harmonious result. In order to denote this practically purposive activity, without admitting any design, the Germans have of late coined the term "*Zielstrebig*." This is a good example of how many persons who will not accept a real explanation, satisfy themselves with a mere word.

The analogy according to which we deem this and other vital processes best applicable, is of the most solid and certain kind, reposing, as it does, on the declarations of our own consciousness. This analogy would lead us to affirm that every living organism is constituted by an immaterial, dynamic principle of individuation.* Such an explanation would doubtless be stigmatized by many biologists as "unscientific." But what is "science"? It should be the highest and most certain knowledge attainable by us.

A. The most certain of all knowledge is that which is seen to be absolutely, universally, and necessarily true—as, *e.g.*, the "principle of contradiction." If we cannot be sure that what is thus evident is really true, we can be sure of nothing and all science is impossible.

B. Most certain also is that which is seen necessarily to follow from true premisses. If we cannot absolutely depend on such deductions, we can infer nothing, and so all reasoning and therefore all science is impossible.

C. The most certain fact perceived by us is the fact of our continued personal existence made known to us through memory—a faculty we must trust, or otherwise all knowledge (save of the passing instant), and therefore all science, is impossible.

We are as fully persuaded as any materialist can be, that there exist around us many material bodies which are the seat of forces which are merely mechanical and unintelligent. Nevertheless we cannot be so certain about this (though we confidently affirm it to be true) as we are about the three before-mentioned certainties—A, B, and C.

The force energizing in a man's own consciousness he knows to be a continuously subsisting principle, conscious of successive objects and events, and capable of holding them before it in one conception as members of a series every part of which it transcends. Such a principle, aware of the kinds and directions of its own intellectual activities, consciously present to them and capable of reviewing its own states and external objects and events in various orders, cannot itself be multitudinous, but must be as much a unity as possible—that is, a simple unity. More-

* See "On Truth," pp. 422, 433, 439, 507, 508.

over, this principle as one which apprehends absolute, necessary, and universal truth, must be something altogether different from what we apprehend as matter and merely physical force. If then we know (as we are confident we do know) material bodies and physical forces at all, it is *absolutely certain* that this intellectual persistent principle is neither the one nor the other, but stands out in the strongest contrast with both.

Thus, if we know (as, of course, we do) that we have material bodies, we see for certain that our own being is a bifold unity. It is a unity, for we perceive it is as much the "I" who feels as it is the "I" who thinks. We are certain, indeed, as to the existence of our body, but it is absolutely *impossible* for us to deny the existence of our self-conscious, thinking principle, or that we are one being—one body and one immaterial principle forming an absolute unity possessing two sets of faculties. It is thus material and physical in one aspect, immaterial and intelligent in the other aspect. No certainty which we can attain to about any external object can be nearly so certain as this certainty we have as to our own being—first, and above all, as to the immaterial, dynamic aspect of our being; and secondly, as to its material and physical aspect. This is the primary and highest truth of physical science.

Looking out on the world about us we find creatures (the higher animals) so like us in many respects, that analogy surely indicates that each such creature is also the seat of an immaterial, dynamic principle of individuation, however different in rank it may be from our own. Extending our gaze over nature, we see that it presents not a chain but a complex network of organic forms—animal and vegetal—which present such resemblances to each other, that we can hardly deny to the lower what, on grounds of analogy, we have attributed to the higher.

We would not be understood to affirm that this doctrine is philosophically evident (like the principle of contradiction or our own existence), nor that it can be verified by the senses save in so far as it seems better to account for certain facts of sensible experience (psychological, physiological, morphological, pathological, and developmental) than any other view. But we regard it as being the most probable hypothesis, and the one most in harmony with what we know with the highest certainty, and therefore as being the most *scientific*. The highest analogy, at any rate, is in its favour. On the other hand, we do not affirm that the hypothesis which would account for the facts of animal life (except those of the human soul) by moving molecules, is *evidently* false—*i.e.*, self-contradictory—though analogy is opposed to it, and, to our minds, it does not square with the facts of the whole organic world nearly so well as does the hypothesis of

multitudinous dynamic agencies, different in kind and order. No one is able to pretend that the hypothesis of molecules in motion can be experimentally verified or made known by sensible experience, while the acceptance of the hypothesis of dynamic immaterial principles in no way renders idle or useless investigations and speculations as to molecular or other material conditions and agencies, by and through which such dynamic principles have perhaps to work, and which may be a *sine quâ non* for their existence or activity.

That Professor Weismann is strongly influenced by preconceived theories is plain from the following passage (p. 34): "I admit that spontaneous generation, in spite of all vain efforts to demonstrate it, remains for me a *logical necessity*." That a certain *probability* attaches to the doctrine that it took place under other and earlier conditions of our globe we have already affirmed;* but to affirm it to be a "logical necessity" is a very different matter and quite unjustifiable. By affirming probability of "spontaneous generation" we do not, of course, mean to affirm that there is no essential distinction of kind, and therefore of origin, between living and non-living matter; we only mean that God may have so created life potentially in matter, that, on the occurrence of the requisite conditions, a fundamentally different mode of existence became actual. We have been greatly induced to regard this mode of origin as probable in deference to the teaching on that subject of various scholastics.

But Professor Weismann by "spontaneous generation" means, of course, something very different—namely, the essential similarity of vital and physical activities. He tries to support his belief by observing that living animals may be so treated as to "disappear entirely as organized beings," being "resolved into inorganic elements;" and he tells us, "that which can be completely resolved into inorganic matter must have also arisen from it, and must owe its ultimate foundation to it."

Now we concede that it owes its *material* foundation to it, but certainly not its most important element—namely, the dynamic, immaterial principle of individuation which constitutes it.

But the Professor himself says (pp. 34–38): "If it were established that spontaneous generation did actually occur, a new question at once arises as to the conditions under which the occurrence became possible. How can we conceive that dead inorganic matter could have come together in such a manner as to form living protoplasm, that wonderful and complex substance

* See "On Truth," p. 501.

which absorbs foreign materials and changes it into its own substance—in other words, grows and multiplies?" How indeed, we repeat, unless it be according to the mode conceived of in the Catholic philosophy of the schools?

The Professor terminates his first essay with the following words:—"It is the quest after perfected truth, not its possession, that falls to our lot, that gladdens it, fills up the measure of our life—nay, *hallows it*." This is a somewhat enigmatical sentence. Certainly the pursuit of truth is a most noble pursuit, and if this truth be religious truth, then its honest and zealous pursuit does indeed hallow life; but this, we fear, is not the Professor's meaning. That for the well-being of creatures organized as we are the stimulus of novelty is more or less necessary as well as pleasurable, may be admitted; but that the true ideal is not "pursuit," but "fruition," we think undeniable.

In his second essay (pp. 69–105) he directly grapples with the problem of heredity, which he defines as "that property of an organism by which its peculiar nature is transmitted to its descendants."

Haeckel described reproduction as "an overgrowth of the individual," and attempted to explain heredity as a simple continuity of growth. This idea seems to have had weight with Professor Weismann, and he adopts it in a modified form and in harmony with the mechanical philosophy he seems to favour.

His hypothesis may be briefly indicated as follows:—Unicellular organisms are immortal and propagate only by subdivision. Higher organisms, constituted by the aggregation of unicellular ones, die as regards their whole body, or *soma*, but a constituent element they have received from their predecessors, termed *germ-plasm*, is immortal and has the power both of enormously augmenting itself and also of developing into entire organisms like the parental forms from whence it was derived.

Thus each animal (above the unicellular Protozoa) consists of two most unequal parts: one of these is the living visible body which is indeed itself mortal, but which serves to nourish and transmit the other immortal but perpetually unconscious part—a microscopic portion of germ-plasm.

It is thus no wonder that the child resembles its ancestors, because it actually is its ancestors—its ancestors contributing, in different degrees, according to circumstances, to constitute its very substance.

To some persons who read such a statement as this for the first time, the hypothesis may seem too wild and baseless to deserve any attention. To think so, however, would be a mistake; for the Professor brings forward a variety of ingenious arguments in support of his views, and by the general consent of

biologists it is the most plausible hypothesis of the kind which has yet been suggested.

In introducing the matter, he says (pp. 72, 73) :

Unicellular organisms, such as Rhizopods and Infusoria, increase by means of fission. Each individual grows to a certain size and then divides into two parts, which are exactly alike in size and structure, so that it is impossible to decide whether one of them is younger or older than the other.

But in *Euglypha* we can (p. 64) distinguish between the parental portion of the dividing organisms and its offspring, while after the transverse fission of the *Infusoria*, the dividing parts are so different that a new mouth needs to be formed in the one, and a new anus in the other.

Now the Professor's merely mechanical conception appears to us to be inadequate to explain all this. We can understand how an organism may increase in bulk till its powers of cohesion are overcome, and we can comprehend how facts of internal structure may cause fission to take place along certain definite lines. It is also easy to see how an ever-increasing proportion of mass to surface may gradually diminish nutrition, till waste greatly exceeds repair. But such conceptions in no way really account for the various peculiarities of fission met with amongst Protozoa, and certainly not for that formation of new and diverse parts in the segments of dividing Infusoria which has been just mentioned. The question of heredity is, however, further treated of in the Professor's fourth essay, so we will defer further reference to the subject at present.

His third essay (pp. 109-159) is entitled "Life and Death," and is largely controversial, contending against Götte's view that death takes place in the *Protozoa* as well as in the *Metazoa*—being represented in the former by that process which is known as "encystment." Now we do not care to specially defend Götte, and certainly we do not agree with him in saying that "in the death of the higher animals," not only the phenomena which make up the life of the individual cease, but also that "all the cells and elements of the tissues which form the dead organism, die, and are resolved into their elements." Yet we are far from affirming that death can be completely explained. We believe that it will be impossible completely to account for and explain death, till we can completely account for and explain life—*Contrariorum eadem est ratio*. But it is not necessary in order that death should take place that the cells and tissues of the dead body should be "resolved into their elements." Any Egyptian mummy will serve to demonstrate the falsehood of such an assertion. Neither do we believe that the individual cells and

tissue elements must utterly die. An inferior kind of life persists, and in some animals may long persist in a corpse dead beyond all power of natural revival. This we have already elsewhere* urged, and have contended that on the death of an entire complex organism, with the disappearance of its dynamic principle of individuation, the various subordinate principles which inform the temporarily living parts of the body, simultaneously arise.

Professor Wiesmann defines (p. 114) death as "an arrest of life, from which no lengthened revival, either of the whole or any of its parts, can take place." This definition seems, however, unsatisfactory and deficient. If we kill a *Begonia* by cutting it into small pieces, not only will separated parts survive, but they will grow and reproduce another *Begonia*. The same may be said of the *Hydra*. But the *Hydra* and *Begonia* are none the less surely dead, because their separated parts can live and reproduce! To define "death" by "impossibility of revival," seems to us a quite illegitimate definition. Death can only be a consequence of something which makes natural revival impossible. What that something *is*, physical science can never tell us. If life consists, as we believe it does, in the presence of an immaterial, dynamic principle of individuation, then death must consist in the absence of that principle; and as its appearance depends on the existence of matter so prepared as to be apt for its reception, so its disappearance will be due to matter arriving at a state or condition *not* fit for its continuance. When such unfavourable conditions arise life ceases, as the reading of a book must cease when a light goes out and leaves us in darkness. There is a separation between the book and the eyes without local movement, and the relation of union which previously existed between the book and the eyes vanishes without going *anywhere*. And there can be no "whence" and no "where" for immaterial principles save as actually embodied. Such ideas of locality only suggest themselves to us on account of our utter inability to imagine anything whatever which is absolutely immaterial.

We quite agree with Professor Weismann in saying (p. 115) that "Götte is decidedly in error when he considers that the idea of death merely expresses an arrest of the sum of vital action in the divided cell." Any expression which represents a living organism as a mere collection of parts which are separately active and vital, is decidedly in error. Our author errs himself in another way. There is a lowly organism, termed *Magosphaera*, which consists of a simple aggregation of cells—called a "cell-colony"—invested by a jelly-like mass. The dissolution of this

* See "On Truth," pp. 437-508.

organism he declares (p. 126) to be no true death, because the separated cells survive; "there is no death of a cell-colony," he tells us, "but only of a *conception*." According to this, after the cell-colony is dissolved, it still exists; and it is "the same thing" *objectively* (1) to exist in a coherent, interrelated mass, bound together by a common jelly, and (2) to exist in separate parts, swimming about independently and devoid of any common jelly. Professor Weismann gives us no reason to suppose him to be an idealist, and he cannot mean that there is nothing but a subjective and ideal distinction between these two very different physical conditions.

He says (p. 144), truly enough, that "it is only a popular notion that a corpse must represent the entire organism," and we also agree with him in thinking (p. 25) that where there is death there must be a corpse of some kind. But there is no knowing for how short a time the inanimate condition may exist in rapidly dividing unicellular organisms. It may be for a time more brief than we are able to imagine.

Professor Weismann concludes his essay by observing that "reproduction did not first make its appearance coincidentally with death. . . . It is as impossible to imagine life enduring without reproduction as it would be to conceive life lasting without the capacity for absorption of food." As to this each one must speak for himself. For our part we find it by no means impossible to imagine life enduring for thousands of years without reproduction.

In his fourth essay (pp. 161-249), the Professor proceeds to a further consideration of his main subject—heredity—and especially to his hypothesis of the continuity of germ-plasm. In the introductory part of it, speaking of characters acquired by organisms as distinguished from those inherited by them, he says (p. 169): "An organism cannot acquire anything unless it already possesses the predisposition to acquire it." This is most true, but it is a very noteworthy assertion as coming from Professor Weismann. For a "predisposition" must surely be something more than a certain arrangement of molecules. Of course we may imagine a very complex disposition of them, causing them to fall into various successive changes of arrangement according to the direction and force of shocks received; but to affirm that there can be such an arrangement of them as will suffice (by itself alone) to account for all inherited pathological modifications and all the instinctive actions of life, is to make a demand on our credulity greater than that made by Mr. Darwin's abandoned theory of Pangenesis. It is an indefinitely greater demand than that made by the conception of a specific dynamic agency analogous to that of which we are conscious in our own

experience.* The objection which first occurs to us against the Professor's hypothesis springs from the phenomena of budding and of reparative growth after injuries. The fact that a portion of *Begonia* leaf has the power of reproducing the whole plant, Professor Weismann regards (p. 211) as only showing that in it "and similar plants the cells of the leaves contain a small amount of germ-plasm." This seems to conflict with his opinion (p. 195), that "there is no nucleo-plasm† like that of the germ-cell in any of the somatic [body] cells."

But however this may be, the supposed molecular and atomic constitution of *Begonia* germ-plasm must be of a definite kind. It could not be simultaneously constituted in two different ways. It could not therefore be so constituted as to serve for growth from the seed and growth from the leaf; for a molecular arrangement fit to bring about the one, cannot also serve to effect the other. The initial stages of these two modes of growth are very different. The differences may be minute and transitory, so that they do not strike the *imagination* forcibly, but the reflective reason shows us that this does not make them the least more "compossible." But the phenomena of reparative growth are no less remarkable. We would especially refer to a remarkable case of the reproduction of a human elbow-joint,‡ which we can in no way see our way to explain on Professor Weismann's hypothesis. Is it credible that the germ-plasm is so divided throughout the organism that each minute portion of the body has just that portion of it which is suitable for effecting local reproduction? But the hypothetical germ-plasm cannot be the same in the germ and in the *soma* of an organism. If it were the same, there would not be the difference which we find to exist between the propagation of fruit-trees by buds and by seeds. In the former case special peculiarities can be transmitted with a fulness and perfection wanting in the latter. It might be replied that in the case of the bud there is not only germ-plasm, but the somatic tissue of the plant also, which is wanting in the seed; but, according to Professor Weismann, it is only the germ-plasm which has the power of reproducing an organism. The cells of certain tissues may doubtless multiply and reproduce their like, but could not be supposed to build up an entire plant any more than the cells

* Mr. A. R. Wallace, in his recent work "Darwinism" (p. 475), does not hesitate to declare that the notion that such faculties could be "a mere result of atomic constitution," is "an altogether preposterous notion." "Here," he tells us, "all idea of mere complication of structure producing the result is out of the question."

† I.e., substance of the nucleus of a cell; but this is the important substance, according to Professor Weismann, and germ-plasm consists thereof.

‡ See "On Truth," pp. 170, 171.

of the tissues of the excised elbow-joint could be supposed to produce not merely their own like, but the complexly co-ordinated structure as one whole. Professor Weismann tells us (p. 322):

I have not hitherto considered budding in relation to my theories, but it is obvious that it is to be explained from my point of view by supposing the germ-plasm . . . altered so as to correspond with the altered structure of the individual which arises from it—viz., the rootless shoot which springs from the stem or branches. [1] The alteration must be very slight, and perhaps quite insignificant, for it is possible that the difference between the secondary shoots and the primary plant may chiefly depend upon the changed conditions of development which takes place beneath the earth in the latter case, and in the tissues of the plant in the former.

But surely this is a great misrepresentation and a blinking of real difficulties. The incipient root—the “radicle”—is not formed *in the earth*, nor is the incipient stem—the “plumule”—formed in the air. Both are formed within the tissues of the parent plant. But no radicle whatever, nothing in the least like it, is formed in growth by a bud. No divergent conditions of environment can explain such a difference as this. To understand such cases of growth and repair as have been here referred to, there appears to us to be needed something more than a complex arrangement of molecules. The conception of a dynamic, immaterial principle of individuation seems to us necessary to aid and perfect such mechanical conditions as we may suppose to exist. Without this addition mere mechanical hypotheses appear insufficient, but reinforced by it the process may be understood. The dynamic hypothesis by itself does not suffice, as the mechanical hypothesis does not alone suffice; but together they constitute an explanation which is, to our mind, rational and sufficient.

But we must also object to the extreme complexity of Professor Weismann's theory of germ-plasm.

He tells us (p. 146) that the length of life of any organism depends on the number of generations of cells which the substance of its body produces, and that this number has been predetermined for each creature during its existence as a germ. Now when we recall to mind how enormous must be the number of cells thrown off by the skin and its appendages, by every mucous surface, and especially by the rapidly disintegrating glandular structures, and remember that, according to the hypothesis, every such minute change of conditions and every change called forth by each accident or injury, must have had corresponding with it a definite molecular arrangement in the germ-plasm, it becomes for us an incredible hypothesis. More-

over, every definite detail of molecular arrangement must depend on a no less definite arrangement of its particles, and these again upon arrangements of its ultimate atoms, which can have within them no arrangement at all. The arrangement then of such atoms, when closely looked at, will be seen to be as fundamentally inexplicable and mysterious as any phenomenon of the gross structure of the largest living organism.

One essential element of his theory is * that the character of the substance or *Cytoplasm*, if each cell has been "*impressed upon it by the influence of*" its core or "*nucleus*;" "that the direction in which the cell-substance is differentiated in the process of development, is determined by the quality of the nuclear substance." But in the first place, in the lowly organism known as *Euglypha*, the cell-substance divides before the nucleus,† so that it is difficult to see how a tendency to fission can here be impressed on the cytoplasm by a nucleus which only itself divides after the cytoplasm has divided. Moreover, how can the mere size and number of the molecules of a nucleus impress any *influence* on the cell-substance surrounding it?

The reader must not think that we ignore any *qualitative* influence which may be supposed to exist in the nucleus; for Professor Weismann categorically denies the existence of any such thing as "*quality*." He says (p. 101): "I believe that qualitative variations always depend upon differences in the size and number of the component parts of the whole." The position thus taken up may surprise some of our readers, but it is a common one with upholders of the mechanical philosophy. It may be refuted, and the existence of at least two qualities can be demonstrated by the following argument: The totality of atoms moving mechanically must have, besides this physical quality, another quality by which they can enter into relation with the conscious mind. Our consciousness shows us that there is something which is feeling and thought, and something which is not. If this be denied we fall into idealism, but even then different *qualities* of thought must be admitted. But the mechanical philosopher cannot allow that motion *is* thought. If he says it is a mere accompaniment of motion, he cannot say it accompanies all motion, and so we come to have two qualities: (A) mechanical motion simply, and (B) mechanical motion accompanied by thought. But even if thought did accompany all motion, there must still remain two qualitative categories—namely (1) motion accompanied by thought not consciously perceived by us, and (2) motion accompanied by thought consciously perceived by us.

The difficulty is increased by the reflection that every stimulus

* See p. 181.

† See p. 64.

to action must come from the exterior, so that its effect can be brought to bear on the nucleus only through the cytoplasm. It is very much more difficult still to understand how—since all the nuclei, all the cells, and all the tissues of the body have been formed from and by the same germ-plasm—such germ-plasm can have had the size, number, and collocation of its parts so arranged as that mere shock and impact should bring about the complicated results we see. It is, we say, very difficult to understand how it can have produced all the growths of all the tissues, organs, and correlated systems of organs, and all the pathological and other phenomena of life, and how it can have laid down beforehand all the various divergent reactions of all the nuclei of all the cells, which reactions are to result from the most varied stimuli received through the cytoplasm of so enormous a multitude of cells as coexist and succeed one another during the life of such a creature as an elephant or a whale! Yet our statement is no exaggeration. The Professor himself says (p. 190): "Every detail of the whole organism must be represented in the germ-plasm by its own special and peculiar arrangement of the groups of molecules;" and "the germ-plasm not only contains the whole of the quantitative and qualitative characters of the species, but also all the individual variations as far as these are hereditary."

The Professor's fifth essay (pp. 252-332) is devoted to a consideration of the influence of sex in relation to the theory of natural selection. His ideas upon this subject are quite novel and very singular and interesting. They may have an influence on the theory of natural selection which was by no means intended by their author. Professor Weismann is not only a disciple of Darwin as regards this theory, but carries it to much greater lengths than Darwin did. Indeed, he is forced to do so by his hypothesis of heredity. Since, according to this hypothesis, every structure and every power possessed by an organism depends on the germ-plasm from which it sprang, no acquired characters can possibly be inherited. Thus, since he, of course, accepts the doctrine of evolution, all the species we have must have been evolved without climatic changes or any modification of environment having been able to give that aid to the process which even Mr. Darwin attributed to them. Every development must have been exclusively and entirely due to minute accidental changes in the arrangement, size and number of the molecules of the germ-plasm, certain changes having been preserved, owing to their useful results in producing forms better qualified to sustain the struggle for life. The life-conditions of each organism being thus fixed by an iron fate before its birth, and being incapable of modification afterwards in any

way transmissible to offspring, it would at first seem that the hypothesis excluded every cause of change whatever. It would seem that a fixity of species would result even greater than that which was generally supposed to exist a hundred years ago. The one exclusive cause of variation Professor Weismann takes to be the existence of two sexes, the consequence of which is that each organism is a mixture of the germ-plasm of two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, and so on—the result being that no two individuals can be absolutely alike, and so the occurrence of variations, of which variations “natural selection” can make use, is made inevitable. Upon his hypothesis, before multicellular creatures existed, the action of the environment could produce few appreciable results upon animal life. For then there was no true reproduction—the vast animal world being, as it were, one individual, since the separate living creatures produced by fission were (and are) the same as the one creature to the fission of which their separateness was due. When unicellular creatures which happened to cohere in aggregations by an accidental incompleteness in their process of fission, found advantage in such union and were so preserved, a gradual distinction is supposed to have arisen between their general complex body-structure (or *soma*) and that portion of them which retained the perpetual vitality which originally belonged to every cell—such portion being the germ-plasm. But this germ-plasm could only transmit its own individual characters and thus the organic world would, as it were, have become stereotyped but that a tendency arose to what in botany is known as “conjugation,” by which the germ-plasm of two distinct individuals came to blend and result in the production of another organism.* Thus the distinction of sex is supposed to have arisen and to have been preserved because, out of a multitude of creatures which were the outcome of blended germ-plasms—and so must present variations in various directions—forms would happen to arise which could survive under (or, in figurative language, “adapt themselves to”) changed conditions in a way which the unbending offspring of single germ-plasms could never do. So the latter would be eliminated in the struggle for life, and all multicellular organisms would become

* Supposed to have been initiated by some accident like the unions occurring in the streaming plasmodia of *Myxomycetes*. Professor Weismann says (p. 287) the “first result and meaning of conjugation may be provisionally expressed in the following formula: Conjugation originally signified a strengthening of the organism in relation to reproduction, which happened when from some cause, such as want of oxygen, warmth or food, the growth of the individual to the extent necessary for reproduction could not take place.

beings normally reproduced by such a blending process. Thus, once more to use figurative language, the object* of the formation of two sexes was to introduce a variety into the world, of which variety natural selection could take advantage, and so evolve that varied fauna and flora which now dwell on the surface of our planet.

Thus his central hypothesis depends upon "natural selection," which it taxes very severely, and indeed we think that the destruction of Mr. Darwin's great theory will be finally effected by his own most zealous disciples. In every difficulty that theory is appealed to, and by it they seek to explain the most diverse and contrary conditions. It will thus come to be regarded as a really valueless explanation, since a theory which will explain *all things*, however contradictory, can really explain *nothing*. How can we trust to that explanation of the sooty blackness of any organism which will equally well explain its being of snowy whiteness?

It will, we think, be well worth while here to note some of the Professor's positions with respect to natural selection. Thus, in the first place, he affirms (p. 91) that "all instinct is entirely due to the operation of natural selection, and has its foundation, not upon inherited experiences, but upon the variation of the germ." This we hold to be a demonstrably false position, but from want of space we must refer our readers to what we have said on the subject elsewhere.† Yet Professor Weismann himself gives instances well calculated to stagger one less robust in Darwinian faith than he is. Thus he tells us (p. 93):

The queen-bee takes her nuptial flight only once, and yet how many and complex are the instincts and the reflex mechanisms which come into play on that occasion. Again, in many insects the deposition of eggs occurs but once in a lifetime, and yet such insects always fulfil the necessary conditions with unfailling accuracy. . . . It is, indeed, astonishing to watch one of the *Cynipidæ* (*Rhodites rosæ*) depositing her eggs in the tissue of a young bud. She first carefully examines the bud on all sides, and feels it with her legs and antennæ. Then she slowly inserts her long ovipositor between the closely rolled leaves of the bud, but if it does not reach exactly the right spot she will withdraw and reinsert it many times, until at length, when the proper place has been found, she will slowly bore deep into the very centre of the bud, so that the egg will reach the exact spot where the necessary conditions for its development alone exist. . . . It is the same with the deposition of eggs in most insects. How can practice have had any influence upon the origin of the instinct which leads one of our butterflies (*Vanessa levana*) to lay its green eggs in single file, as columns, which project freely from the

* He by no means really affirms this in a *teleological* sense, but the very contrary. (See p. 281.)

† See "On Truth," pp. 515-518.

stem or leaf, so that protection is gained by their close resemblance to the flower-buds of the stinging-nettle, which forms the food-plant of their caterpillars?

How, we may ask in turn, can natural selection have produced so admirable a result by mere chance variations in the collocation of the molecules of the germ-plasm of a creature which before had them not? In some very curious and imperfectly formed parasites known as *Orthonectide*, the body of the female becomes entirely filled with eggs, which escape by the bursting of the thin skin of the parent. In the male the body is not so distended by its sexual product, but the large cells which form its outer wall spontaneously atrophy and fall off here and there, so giving exit to the contents. It is indeed difficult to believe that such a process could have been produced by nothing but natural selection. But our author is ready to imagine and entertain the most gratuitous supposition in support of that theory. Thus (p. 151), as to the small organisms provided with suctorial processes, and known as *Acinetaria*, having been derived from ciliated Protozoa, he speculates as follows:

Of the myriads of generations which such a process of development must have occupied, *perhaps* the first set *moved with suctorial processes*, while the second gradually *adopted sedentary habits*. . . . This does not exclude the *probability* that in spite of our assumed sedentary mode of life, the need of locomotion and of obtaining food in fresh places *may have arisen* at some period of life. [1]

Recent investigations have shown that the gall which develops in plants which have been punctured by the fly *Cynips* in depositing her eggs, is not produced by the stimulus of the puncture, but of the larva which is hatched from the egg. The presence of this small actively moving creature stimulates the plant in a definite manner, and produces a result which is advantageous indeed to the grub, but which is of no use whatever to the plant which grows the gall. It would, as Professor Weismann admits (p. 302), be to the advantage of the latter if it killed the intruding larva; either enclosing it by woody tissue devoid of nutriment, or poisoning it by some acrid secretion, or simply crushing it by the growth of tissues. Yet nothing of this takes place; but, on the contrary, an active growth of cells, which are serviceable to the intruder.* We should much like to know how natural selection can be made to explain this unselfish act on the part of the plant. No doubt Professor Weismann will be able to suggest some explanation, because it is always possible, by piling hypothesis on

* See Bayerinck's *Beobachtungen über die ersten Entwicklungsphasen einiger Cynipidengallen* in *Verhandl. d. Amsterdam, akad. d. Wissenschaften*. Band xxii. 1883.

hypothesis, to make natural selection explain anything. He, however, only says: "It would be out of place to discuss here the question as to how we can conceive that the plant is thus compelled to produce a growth which is at any rate indifferent, and may be injurious, to it; and which, moreover, is exactly adapted to the needs of its insect enemy."

Hardly less credible is it that the two forms of eggs produced by certain small creatures of the shrimp-class (*Daphnidæ*)—which differ greatly in structure though the same kind of animals come out from both—should have been evolved by natural selection only. Professor Weismann would not of course feel this, for his enthusiasm for natural selection knows no bounds. Then as to the brown scales which form an efficient protection for the water-buds of various plants, he asks (p. 406): "Would it be so very improbable for the physiological peculiarity of *lying dormant for several months* to have been developed, simultaneously with the structure, by the operation of natural selection?" He even assumes that roots have been induced to penetrate the ground and stems to rise up into the air, by natural selection operating upon previous vegetal organisms which had neither roots nor stems. So again as to the tendency of plants to grow towards the light, and the various relations which exist between sunshine and the arrangement or position of parts of plants he declares (p. 399): "The light only provides the stimulus which calls forth the characteristic reaction from each part of the plant, but the cause of each peculiar reaction lies in the specific nature of the part itself which has not been produced by light, but as we believe by natural selection. If," he further tells us, "this explanation does not account for the facts, we may as well abandon all attempts to understand the useful arrangements in organisms." This is indeed a curious passage. It says in effect, "Let us have no explanation rather than one which is not Darwinian!" But we reply in his own words, used elsewhere (p. 388): "*We are in want of a correct explanation rather than one which is easy and convenient.*" And certainly no explanation ever suggested was so easy and so convenient as the theory of natural selection. That Professor Weismann should have been most zealous in its cause is, however, very easily comprehensible. His whole hypothesis depends upon it, and must crumble into utter ruin if its Darwinian foundation should prove unstable.

In his sixth essay (pp. 335-384) our author follows up the subject of heredity, attempting in a very ingenious way to obviate two objections which may be urged against it. We fear, in the small space at our disposal, that we cannot make clear to readers quite unversed in such matters the special subject of the essay,

but we will do our best. It is entitled, "*On the number of Polar Bodies and their significance in Heredity.*" As long ago as 1837, Dumortier* observed that small particles were extruded from the young ovum of the fresh-water snail, *Limnea stagnalis*. Although a certain attention was subsequently paid to the phenomenon, it is only within the last fifteen years that it has been zealously and fruitfully investigated in many animals. It has now been ascertained that in animals of almost all classes one or two small particles of protoplasm, termed "Polar bodies," are extruded from the ovum before, or quickly after, its impregnation. Various interpretations, which it would be long to tell, have been assigned to the process. Before explaining the significance which Professor Weismann attributes to it, a few words must be said about his conviction concerning the essential nature of ordinary reproduction, and a little more about that process of Parthenogenesis to which we have already referred. Our author considers that all germ-plasm contains everything needful for the formation of a fresh individual provided its bulk be sufficient. If therefore it exists in sufficient quantity in the ovum of any animal, that ovum can develop parthenogenetically, and virgin reproduction is thus at once the sign and the consequence of an ovum being so richly endowed. But the developing egg does not consist of such germ-plasm only, but also of material suited for the building up of all such parts of the ovum itself as are supplemental to the germ-plasm destined for the formation of the future individual. This egg-forming substance is called by him *ovogenetic nucleoplasm*, and is evidently superfluous when once its work has been accomplished and the ovum is fully formed. Therefore the first polar body extruded, he believes to consist of this superfluous nucleoplasm. Obviously it has to be got rid of, whether the embryo which is to be formed by the germ-plasm of the ovum is to be parthenogenetically developed or not. So far as researches have yet gone it has been ascertained that one polar body is extruded in cases of virgin reproduction, but in such cases no second polar body seems yet to have been observed. The Professor considers that the second polar body is part of the germ-plasm itself absolutely needed for reproduction, the quantity left after its expulsion being too small to perform that function. If this is true, then a second polar body cannot evidently be extruded in parthenogenetic reproduction, since, were it extruded, there would not remain germ-plasm enough for the development of the new creature. But when the embryo is developed it proves that there must have been enough substance for its development, and therefore cannot have lost the substance requisite

* "Mem. sur l'embryologie d. Mollusques." Brussels, 1837.

to form a second polar body. Therefore if a second polar body should be discovered in one developed by virgin reproduction, such a discovery would upset the Professor's theory, or compel him (probably no difficult matter) to excogitate some fresh ancillary hypothesis to explain the fact. The effect then of the extrusion of the second polar body in ordinary ova is to reduce their bulk so much that reproduction cannot take place till that reduction is compensated for by addition from without. It is in such mere addition of bulk from without that he deems sexual reproduction to consist. He does not believe that any difference of kind—any essential distinction—exists between the germ-plasms of the male and female parent, and he even brings forward an instance of what he regards as male parthenogenesis.* Nevertheless he conceives that this extrusion of the second polar body and the sexual process thus made necessary, has most important results; since, as we have seen, he considers that the introduction of sexual reproduction has been so useful, and since it could not take place without the extrusion of the second polar body. This important result is the great augmentation of variation, which is supposed to be induced by the elimination of half the number of ancestral tendencies of either parent in every such process of reproduction. For since the germ-plasm is made up of the substance of a multitude of ancestors, when its bulk is reduced one-half by these double extrusions of polar vesicles, half the ancestral tendencies must also be eliminated; and as we may suppose that the proportions of these ancestral tendencies are unequal in quantity, and are never twice eliminated in the same proportions, the result must be a greater or less amount of diversity between all the young which are born even at one birth, and, of course, between all the offspring of the same parents.

The Professor's position may be briefly stated as follows: Parthenogenesis is due to the non-expulsion of a second polar body, which, if expelled, necessitates impregnation, and also the elimination of half the ancestral germ-plasms of each parent.

Thus he obviates the two objections which, as we said, may be urged against the hypothesis on account of (1) the enormous accumulation of ancestral germ-plasms, which it, at first appearance, involves; and (2) the difficulties presented by parthenogenesis, and the extrusion of polar bodies.

Such are Professor Weismann's views as to this obscure point

* In certain Algæ (*Ectocarpus* and *Scytosiphon*). See Schenik's "Handbuch der Botanik," Bd. ii. p. 219. It is very doubtful, however, whether these can truly be called "male," as the germ-cells are all alike in aspect, and only differ as to whether they become fixed or continue locomotion.

of embryology. Various objections could be made to them, not the least of which is the fact that in the queen-bee the *very same egg* may develop either parthenogenetically or in the normal manner according to circumstances.

That other conditions remain to be considered seems evident from Tichomiroffs* having found that parthenogenetic ova of *Bombyx mori* may be made to develop by the application of stimuli, when otherwise they would not. This he effected by rubbing them with a brush, dipping them for two minutes in sulphuric acid, and then washing them. Dr. Bertram C. A. Windle (Professor of Anatomy at Queen's College, Birmingham) has thrown out some very interesting suggestions on the relation of a retention of polar vesicles and embryonic monstrosities.† We cannot, however, here enter into all the details necessary for any fruitful discussion of that subject.

Dr. Weismann's remaining essays are devoted to the discussion of that position which we have already shown it is absolutely necessary for him to establish—namely, the non-inheritance of acquired characters. In his sixth (pp. 387–417), he considers some *botanical objections* which have been brought against his views, and in his seventh and last essay (pp. 421–448) he there treats of the *supposed transmission of mutilations*.

That acquired characters may be inherited, has, as Professor Weismann truly says (p. 390), "been hitherto accepted as a matter of course by almost every one." As we have already pointed out, the belief that they were inherited was entertained by Darwin, and was one support of his theory of natural selection. Our author, speaking of himself, says (p. 422): "I for one frankly admit that I was in this respect under the influence of Darwin for a long time, and that only by approaching the subject from an entirely different direction was I led to doubt the transmission of acquired characters." That the position he has taken up adds to the difficulty of the doctrine of natural selection he fully allows, and indeed distinctly affirms (p. 388) it to have become "much greater, for we are now compelled to seek a different explanation of many phenomena which were previously believed to be understood."

But although these last two essays are intended to show that acquired characters cannot be inherited, they yet seem to us to show that to a certain extent, and in a certain sense, they may

* "Archiv. für Anat. und Phys." (Phys. Abtheilung) 1886. Supp. s. 35.

† See also, for other facts, his paper on "Recent Researches in connection with the Maturation, &c., of the Ovum," in the "Proc. of the Birmingham Phil. Soc.," vol. vi. part ii.; his paper on "Congenital Malformations and Heredity," *op. cit.* part i.; and that on the "Origin of Double Monstrosity," *Journ. of Anat. and Phys.*, April 1889.

be inherited. We have no desire to contend that they are heritable to any large extent, and we have always affirmed that mutilations can at the most be very rarely inherited, and long ago referred to obvious proofs that so it must be.* But Professor Weismann here certainly makes some admissions with respect to the cumulative effect of a changed environment on the germ-plasm of organisms, which contradict his previous assertions that only unicellular creatures can be thus modified. But if such a cumulative effect does exist, then, if sufficient time be allowed (and Darwinians are prodigal of time), a modified Lamarckism reappears!

Professor Hoffman, of Marburg, who has for a long time been carrying on experiments on variation, has ascertained that by cultivating wild plants raised from seed for some generations, in a garden, they came to have double flowers, with changed colours and modified foliage leaves. The wild pansy also, when planted in garden soil, gains, after some generations, changed colours and larger flowers, and these changes can be propagated by seed. These facts Professor Weismann denies to be facts of the inheritance of acquired characters of the *soma* of such plants, and affirms them to be modifications of the germ-plasm therein contained; and, according to his hypothesis, a modified germ-plasm should produce modified results.

The fact he tells us [pp. 413, 414] admits of only one interpretation—the changed conditions at first produced slight and ineffectual changes in the idio-plasm† of the individual, which was transmitted to the following generation; in this again the same cause operated, and increased the changes in the idio-plasm which was again handed down. Thus the idio-plasm was changed more and more in the course of generations, until at last the change became great enough to produce a visible character in the *soma* developed from it, such as, for example, the appearance of a double flower.

But surely a changed environment could never affect germ-plasm contained in the recesses of an organism without also affecting the tissues surrounding it—i.e., the *soma*. If then such a modification of the *soma* has for its result a modification of the contained germ-plasm, that is, in principle, all that the maintainers of the transmission of acquired characters need assert.

But much more striking instances may be brought forward, such, e.g., as the moths brought from Texas to Switzerland,‡ and Professor Weismann himself allows (p. 99), with respect to changes in butterflies affected by climate, that even now he

* See "Genesis of Species," second edition, 1871, p. 242.

† I.e., the special germ-plasm of the individual plant.

‡ See "On Truth," p. 378.

"cannot explain the facts otherwise than by supposing the passive acquisition of characters produced by the direct influence of climate."

Still more striking and still more indisputable instances of the transmission to offspring of influences brought to bear on their parents are afforded by the case of Lord Zetland's brood-mare* and allied phenomena in dogs which are of every-day occurrence.

We think that Professor Weismann's own admissions, the various modifications of his views which he has been compelled from time to time to make, and the highly speculative nature of his hypotheses, ought to restrain him from criticizing opponents in the particular mode he sometimes does. Thus, with respect to an explanatory hypothesis suggested by Strasburger, he remarks (p. 200): "Such a statement is no proof, but only *an assumption made to support a theory.*" *Proh pudor!* How many of Professor Weismann's statements are nothing more than assumptions made to support his own theory! As to Nageli's mechanical explanation of phylogeny, he declares (p. 182): "It would be hardly possible to form even an approximate conception of an explanation based upon mere conditions of tension and movement." But it is quite as impossible to form such a conception of his own molecular condition of germ-plasm. *De te quoque fabula narratur!*

His greatest blame, however, is reserved for the non-mechanical, teleological biologists, who are roundly denounced. Thus when speaking of the belief that organs have been so constituted as in certain cases to respond to external stimuli by useful changes, he says (p. 397):

Any one who made such an assertion nowadays, or who even thought of such a thing as a possibility, would prove that he is entirely ignorant of the facts of organic nature, and that he has no claim to be heard upon the question of the transformation of species. . . . one may reasonably complain when compelled to repeat again and again these elements of knowledge and of thought upon the causes of transformation.

Elsewhere (p. 389) he speaks of a power in organisms which causes them to respond to external influences by useful modifications, as "a power unknown elsewhere, and entirely unproved."

Yet in the first place such a power *is* known elsewhere, for it is known in ourselves, and it is better than proved, for consciousness reveals it. But even in the facts of the world open to the observation of our senses, we see such a power displayed. It is displayed in a multitude of cases of reparative growth, and also

* See "On Truth," p. 379.

in such cases of direct response, as that exhibited by the cocoons of certain Lepidoptera which become creamy white when spun upon white paper.* But that the animal organism is the seat of an influence not to be explained by any conception put forward by Professor Weismann, is made plain to our mind by the curious cases of morphological and pathological symmetry which are so frequent and so indisputable.† If, for argument sake, we make the most extreme concessions to Darwinian, mechanical philosophers; if we allow that all backboneed animals (ourselves included) descended from worm-like creatures with serially segmented bodies, and that such segmented worms were formed by the coalescence (incomplete fission) of separate and independent lower organisms, no such concessions will explain the mystery of the serial and lateral symmetries displayed by our own body and the bodies of other animals. Only the energy of a dynamic immaterial principle of individuation can, we think, afford a satisfactory conception of a creature so conditioned. For not only is there a close resemblance between the right and left sides of our body (lateral symmetry), but there is a still more striking resemblance (serial symmetry) between all the segments of both our extremities, the arm and the leg—a symmetry shown in disease and in congenital malformations as well as in health, and one which must have spontaneously arisen long after (on the supposed hypothesis) such members first existed under very different conditions.

In terminating our notice of this volume, for the production of which we tender our cordial thanks to the Clarendon Press of Oxford, we desire to express our earnest conviction of the great need amongst our own body of a further cultivation of and familiarity with the most influential branch of science of the day. One great road to the minds, and therefore to the hearts, of many men of our generation, is a good knowledge of the science of living organisms. Of astronomy and physics we have no lack, but we must confess to being able to show very little knowledge of the kind referred to in these essays. Yet probably there is but one thing more needful to gain us a hearing with the multitude of men of all classes with active brains, and that is the manifestation of a hearty, disinterested love for, and deep sympathy with, the wants and needs of the poorer classes of the community. But a knowledge of living things generally, their characters and needs, forms no bad introduction to the comprehension of some of the indispensable requirements of man-

* See *Proc. Ent. Soc. Lond.* 1887, pp. 1, li.; and 1888, p. xxviii. See also, "On Truth," p. 374.

† See "On Truth," pp. 428, 429, and 513.

kind, for many a parallel may be profitably drawn between the wants of our vast human organism and the individual needs of organisms of all kinds.

The one Divine human voice which has bid us love our neighbour as ourselves, has also with respect to "the birds of the air" and "the lilies of the field" bid us both "behold" and "consider." Deep study of and profound meditation about God's world of irrational life, cannot then be fruitless of even the highest results. With respect to lower goods, we do not hesitate to affirm that the most enduring happiness may thus be gained. Great is the contrast between the feverish pursuit of "pleasure," the restless efforts of the ambition to "get on," the miserable heartburnings and meannesses of the social struggle, and the calm pleasure of the contemplation of nature, which is free from depressing reactions and persists unimpaired amongst the otherwise deepening shadows of declining years. Putting aside, in this connection, the question of religion, we must declare that of the many old men it has been our privilege to know, those who have seemed to us possessed of the most tranquil happiness have been those who have patiently and perseveringly followed one or other branch of that vast and inexhaustible science which deals with living beings. For every reason then we would, in conclusion, heartily recommend to all our readers either themselves to undertake or at least to favour and promote, the solid, really scientific study of the facts of animal and of vegetable life.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

ART. III.—AN INDIAN CATHOLIC MISSION.

1. *La Mission du Maduré d'après des documents inédits.*
Par le P. J. BERTRAND de la Compagnie de Jésus, Missionnaire
du Maduré. 4 vols. Paris. 1847-1854.
2. *Le Maduré.* Par le R. P. BOUTELANT, S.J. Paris. 1888.

SOUTHERN India is the stronghold of Christianity in our Eastern Empire. There the faith was first preached by St. Francis Xavier, and there at this day four-fifths of the Catholics of India are to be found. Within a radius of three hundred miles from Cape Comorin are situated the most flourishing of the Catholic Missions. The vast field of Northern India is still, in great part, untilled; the South, thanks to three centuries of labour, has yielded, and is still yielding, a rich harvest.

Of these southern missions, one of the oldest and, in many ways, the most interesting is the mission of Madura; lately raised by the Sovereign Pontiff to the dignity of an Archiepiscopal See. This mission includes the government districts of Tinneveli and Madura. The sea coast of Tinneveli was the scene of the labours of St. Francis Xavier among the Parava fisherfolk, but he does not seem to have ever penetrated into the interior, and the direct founder of the Madura mission was the famous Father Robert de' Nobili, the first missionary who ever successfully approached the high-caste natives, and the first European who ever studied the sacred language of India.

Born in Rome in 1577, De' Nobili entered the Society of Jesus in 1596, and having devoted himself to the Indian missions, sailed for Goa eight years later as a newly ordained priest. Goa was at this period at once the administrative centre of the Portuguese dominions in Asia and of the widely extended eastern missions of the Society of Jesus. It contained within its walls two colleges and a novitiate, and was the residence of the provincial who directed the missions of the north and centre of India. Some of his subjects were at work as far north as Lahore; others, at Agra, had lately been engaged in satisfying the curiosity of the Emperor Akbar as to the religion of the West, and had been hoping against hope that the Great Mogul was seeking for the truth in earnest. Southward lay another Jesuit province—that of Malabar, which included Ceylon and the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, with the interior south of Mysore—in fact, all the sharp wedge with which the Indian peninsula comes to an end. The headquarters of this province (which was the outcome of the labours of St. Francis Xavier in Travancore and on the Fishery

Coast) was the college of Cochin, on the coast of Malabar. To this province De' Nobili was attached, and soon after his arrival at Goa he was transferred to Cochin. In the winter of 1606 he made his first expedition into the interior, when he accompanied the provincial of Malabar, Father Laerzio, on a visit to Madura. Leaving the kingdom of Travancore by one of the wooded defiles of the Western Ghauts, the two travellers came down into the undulating plain that extends from the hills to the Coromandel coast—a wide sweep of cultivated ground with numerous villages but few trees, except here and there a belt of palms along the banks of the Vaiga river, or of the little watercourses that feed it after having yielded a part of their scanty waters to the irrigation of the fields. A journey of some sixty miles brought them to Madura, from time immemorial the holy city of Southern India. High over its house-tops rose the four huge gate-towers of its great temple, masses of sculptured masonry, growing smaller and smaller at each successive story, but so heavy that the great gateway below looks small, and all surrounding buildings are dwarfed. Here popular tradition asserted that the god Siva dwelt in the inmost shrine of the pagoda. A bastioned wall surrounded the whole city, which was then the political capital of the south and the centre of its most powerful native monarchy.

Madura had been for centuries a seat of sovereignty and a holy city. Its famous dynasty of the Pandyan kings, which fell before the Mohammedan invaders of the Deccan in the fourteenth century, had an origin lost in myth and fable. When the Muslims entered the conquered city all their zeal against idolatry found expression in the destruction of the great Siva temple, then, as now, its chief edifice. Its fourteen gate-towers were sent crashing to the ground, its boundary walls breached, its buildings unroofed. For fifty years the temple was a ruin; but before the end of the century the Rajahs of Vijayanagar drove back the Muslims into the north of the Deccan, and Madura became a subject city of this powerful Hindu State. At once the people proceeded to rebuild the temple of their favourite deity. They erected the four *gopuras*, or gate-towers, that still form its chief ornament, and the priests of Siva announced that the inmost shrine had been found intact and inviolate, miraculously preserved by the presence of the god. From Vijayanagar came governors who ruled Madura in the name of the Rajah, and bore the title of Nayak or Nayakar (leader or chief). They were supported by warlike bands of soldiers from the Telugu country, whom the men of Madura called, in their Tamil tongue, Vadugas, or Northmen.* When St. Francis Xavier

* Tamil *vadu*—the north. The Telugu districts lie to the north of the Tamil country.

was in India, Vijayanagar (or, as he calls it, Bishnagur) was still the paramount State of the south, and Travancore paid the Rajah fealty and tribute. It was this tribute that formed the pretext of the plundering raids of the Vadugas, the "Badagas" of the saint's letters. But Vijayanagar was near its downfall: it was hard pressed by a league of the Mohammedan princes of Central India; and, in 1559, there came to Madura a Nayak chief, who was to revive the ancient glories of the holy city and restore its independence. He bore the proud name of Visvanath—*i.e.*, the "lord of all," and when, in 1665, the last Rajah of Vijayanagar was defeated by the Muslim league at the battle of Talikot, Visvanath took advantage of his downfall to make himself an independent sovereign, and soon the new kingdom of Madura was able to levy tribute from sea to sea. In order to consolidate their power, Visvanath and his successors showed themselves the devoted protectors of the popular religion, and they thus secured the support of the Brahmans, who formed a large element in the population of their capital city. Thus, when De' Nobili founded the mission, Madura was the centre of a great pagan religious revival.

The religion of Madura was, of course, Hinduism; but this term is a very vague one, and embraces a multitude of sects whose only agreement is in certain fundamental principles of a philosophic rather than a religious character, and, therefore, little appreciated by the mass of the people. Then, as now, the sects most numerous at Madura were those composed of worshippers of the various manifestations of Siva, the traditional protector of the city and the great god of all Southern India. The Hindus profess to derive their religion from the Vedic hymns, chaunted by inspired singers in far off ages, and handed down by pious tradition from generation to generation. But, in the Vedas, Siva is not as much as named; the word occurs, indeed, but only as an epithet in the sense of "gracious" or "propitious."* The development of Siva worship, as it prevails in modern India, belongs to a much later age. It has been suggested, and not without good reason, that there is in Saivism a strong non-Aryan element; but, in fact, it is the result of the mingling of two religions, that of the Brahmans of the north and the lower worship of the dark faced Dravidian nations of the south, who represent the tribes that held India before the days of the Aryan inroads, and whose religion was one of terror, the worship of wrathful deities, mingled with a fetish

* Rudra, one of the minor Vedic gods, is sometimes identified with Siva, but, although some of Rudra's characteristics belong also to Siva, the distinctive features of Siva worship are quite absent in the Vedic verses which refer to Rudra.

system, in which lust and bloodshed played no small part. Dr. Caldwell points out* that this religion still survives among the rude tribes and the uneducated classes of Southern India, and has a close resemblance to the demon worship of Central Asia.

The system [he says] which prevails in the forests and mountain fastnesses throughout the Dravidian territories, and also in the south of the peninsula amongst the lower classes, and which appears to have been still more widely prevalent at an early period, is a system of demonolatriy, or the worship of evil spirits by means of bloody sacrifices and frantic dances. . . . On comparing this Dravidian system of demonolatriy and sorcery with Shamanism—the superstition which prevails amongst the Ugrian races of Siberia and the hill tribes on the south-western frontiers of China, which is still mixed up with the Buddhism of the Mongols, and which seems to have been the religion of the whole Tartar race before Buddhism and Molammedanism were disseminated among them—we cannot avoid the conclusion that these two superstitions, though practised by races so widely separated, are not only similar but identical.

The fusion between the remains of this old half savage demonolatriy and the Hinduism of the Brahmans, was consummated in the ninth century, when, as Buddhism passed away, the famous Sankara took in hand the reorganization of Brahmanism in Southern India. He was the chief founder of the Saivist sects. To their creed Hinduism contributes the central idea that all things are manifestations of the one sole existing essence, who may be adored under any form that excites the devotion of the worshipper. A corollary of this doctrine is that to those who can grasp the pantheistic doctrine of the pantheistic unity of all things, man's end must be the dissipation of the delusion of a separate existence, his reabsorption into the one sole existence, and the cessation of his conscious personal being. Till this is accomplished he must return again and again to earth in successive births, his position in each succeeding life being determined by the character of that which preceded it. Of course, this is an idea not grasped by the multitude. For them the creed of Saivism is a belief in the necessity of propitiating the god under whose form the one existence is worshipped. This is Siva. He has indeed two forms that seem to typify the double origin of his worship. First, there is the statue of Siva, sitting cross-legged, with folded hands and downcast eyes, wearing the sacred thread of the Brahmans over his shoulder, and rapt in meditation on the unity of all things. This is the god of the Saivist Brahmans, and represents the philosophic and more strictly Hindu side of the faith. Then there is the terrible Siva, a monster with five

* "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages." App. p. 580.

faces and four arms, a necklace of skulls, a collar of serpents, and in his grasp a war-club and a human head. This is the Siva whose anger must be averted and his protection won by propitiatory rites; he is called Siva (the "gracious") only in prayerful flattery, as the Greeks called the terrible Fates the Eumenides. Siva worship in this form is simply demon-worship, akin to the fetishism of Africa and Central Asia, a religion of terror. "There is," says Dr. Caldwell, "an element of recognized demonism in the Saivism of every part of India, in some places more, in others less." With Siva is worshipped his wife, Parvati or Kali, sometimes represented as trampling upon a corpse, and even in our own day propitiated at times by human sacrifices. A third deity is Ganesa, the son of Siva, lord of the Ganas, or hosts of mischievous demons, whose fetish, a stone daubed with red paint, is to be seen all over India. But there is yet another element in Siva worship, common to both the meditative devotion of the Brahmans, and the open fetishism of the low-castes. In the Hindu triad of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, the creator, preserver and destroyer, Siva is not the destroyer in the mere sense of the exterminator. The idea has a deeper meaning. He is rather the changer, the power in nature that is ever dissolving one form only to bring forth from its dissolution a new being. Thus Siva comes to preside over generation rather than dissolution. He is the Dionysus of India, and in every temple the centre of worship is a conventional form of the same symbol that made the Dionysiac worship of Greece the centre of the foulest orgies. The same symbol is worn as an amulet. Conventional familiarity has doubtless, in a vast majority of cases, taken away much of its grossness from this Saivite symbolism, but in some of the lower sects the rites are undoubtedly nothing better than a secret orgie of drunkenness, bloodshed, and lust. Such was the religion of Madura when Robert de' Nobili entered its gates more than two hundred years ago; such alas! is still the religion of thousands, nay, millions of our fellow-men, our fellow-subjects in India, a religion which, although for the cultured few its darker features are kept in the background, and its higher teachings alone consciously dwelt upon, is for the mass of the people little more than the slavish propitiation of hostile demon powers, varied by festivals whose chief feature is too often the organized and methodical degradation of man.

De' Nobili attacked Saivism in its chief stronghold, but his method of attack marked a new departure in missionary work in India. So far, Christianity had only been represented in Madura by a mere handful of low-caste Paravas, who had at various times left their villages on the Fishery Coast to seek their fortunes in the capital. A Portuguese Jesuit, Father Gonzalvo

Fernandez, had been their pastor for some fourteen years, but he had tried in vain to open communications with the Brahmans and high-caste citizens of Madura. In the eyes of these men Christianity was a degraded religion which the low-caste Paravas had learned from the Portuguese, or, as they commonly called them, the *parangis*, a contemptuous expression which seems to have meant "godless men and outcastes." Unfortunately, the Portuguese had accepted the name without understanding it. In the catechism of the Fishery Coast Christianity was called "the religion of the *parangis*." Still more unfortunately, the greed and license of many of the Portuguese might well justify the Hindu in his belief that the *parangis* were godless men. Moreover, we should not forget that many ordinary European habits must have seemed simply barbarous and repulsive to the high-caste Hindu. To the minds of men of the priestly Brahman, or the soldier Nayak caste, it must have seemed that to become Christians was the same thing as to give up every honourable feeling and every familiar tie, in order to herd with the lowest of the low and become the outcasts of their people. The Brahmans were not so far actively hostile to Christianity. They simply regarded the poor Paravas and their religion with a calm contempt. It is the strongest testimony to the personal influence of St. Francis Xavier, that although he was the apostle of the low-caste Paravas, so many of the Brahmans conversed with him as an equal, and treated him with marked respect. Perhaps this very deference on their part helped to conceal from him the obstacle that caste placed in the way of the conversion of India. In any case, his mission was not to the Brahmans. It is clear that he failed fully to understand them. While he asked for learned men for the missions of Japan, he wrote to Europe that even comparatively unlearned men would be of use for the missions of India.

Up to De' Nobili's time there was another great obstacle in the way of progress of Christianity in India. This was that the missionaries knew very little of the real nature of the popular religion. They could see with their own eyes evidence enough of idolatrous and superstitious rites, and they had further a few notions about metempsychosis drawn from classic or early Christian writers. Of the complex, many-sided systems of Hindu sacred lore they knew practically nothing. They had learned indeed that the Brahmans had a sacred language called "Samscrontam" or "Sungskrit" or some such name, and that there were sacred books in this language; but no European knew Sanskrit or had ever seen these books, and such ignorance was a fatal bar to any real knowledge of the religious and philosophic thought of India, and to all serious discussion with the Brahmans.

De' Nobili it was who broke down this and opened up a new field both to the missionary and the man of science.

During his brief stay at Madura in the winter of 1606 he had studied the situation to some purpose. He saw the powerlessness of Fernandez in the great city that, from the missionary's point of view, was the key of all the south. It is not easy for us to realize the penetration that revealed to him the real state of affairs, the cause why in Southern India alone it seemed impossible to spread the Gospel beyond the ranks of the poor, the ignorant and the low born. He had soon elaborated a plan of action to meet the special difficulties of the mission. "I will become a Hindu," he said, "to save the Hindus." His plan was to come among the people of Madura, as far as might be, as one of themselves; to live the ordinary daily life of their learned men; to avoid anything that might shock their feelings of propriety; and then see if they would not listen to the truths of Christianity. Further he would not call upon them to renounce, as a condition of conversion, any national customs or caste traditions that were free from the taint of idolatry and superstition. He would seek to Christianize without trying to Europeanize them. It was a daring enterprise, and it called for new sacrifices on his part. He had left home, family and country for the Indian mission, and now for the sake of Madura he was ready to give up the language and the habits of a European, to subject himself to the manifold tyranny of the laws of caste, to cut himself off from intercourse with most of his brethren, and to lead a lonely life, where death would daily be a peril that one rash act might bring down upon him, while he would be exposed to the misunderstandings even of good men, and the calumny of jealous foes.

His enterprise was crowned with complete success. Within twelve months after his arrival at Madura he had made some important conversions among both the Brahmans and the nobles. A Brahman convert taught him Sanskrit and read with him the sacred books; an officer of the Nayak's court proved a powerful protector against the persecution of his enemies. These first successes opened the way for a rapid influx of converts into the Church. During the forty years of his missionary life he baptised thousands. The outbreak of the long controversy on the so-called Malabar rites delayed but did not arrest the progress of the new mission. Successors worthy of such a leader carried on the work he had so well begun. The Blessed John de Britto evangelized the Marava country, and received the crown of martyrdom after a long and successful apostolate. Beschi, another of the famous missionaries of Madura, achieved a triumph which stands alone in the annals of literature. An epic which he composed in the Tamil tongue ranks to this day amongst the

three classics of the language, the other two being the work of native poets.

Built up by the efforts of De' Nobili and his successors in the seventeenth century, the mission of Madura entered upon a period of decline in the eighteenth. This was not the fault of the zealous men who were still treading in the footsteps of De' Nobili and De Britto under the shadow of the great temple of Madura, and among the jungles of the Marava. Events external to the mission were preparing the way for its downfall. Portugal, hitherto the protector, had become the persecutor of the Jesuit missions. Gross misrepresentations of the policy adopted in the mission of Madura, formed no small part of the arsenal of calumny which Pombal employed to secure the suppression of the Society. Even before that blow was struck the Patriarch of Goa had made the position of the India missionaries a difficult one, while the growing power of Holland in the Eastern seas cut off supplies from Europe, destroyed the establishment at Cochin, and the missions on the coast, and led to persecutions of the native converts. At length the suppression of the Society of Jesus put an end at one blow to the Madura mission. No new labourers arrived from Europe. One by one the old missionaries died off. Over wide tracts of country the native Christians were left for nearly three generations without priest or sacraments. In some few places Portuguese or Eurasian priests from Goa took possession of the old Jesuit churches, and ministered to the flocks which but for them would have been wholly without a shepherd. It was a desolate time, when the good work that had been done during a century and a half by the missionaries of Madura fell year by year into decay and ruin. But the good that had been done was not wholly lost. In many cases the native Christians though left wholly to themselves, handed down from father to son the teaching they had received from the Jesuits. "Many native Christians," says a non-Catholic authority, "lived and died without ever seeing a priest; they baptized their own children, taught them the prayers, and kept up daily worship in the churches."* For fifty years this time of trial lasted, and then the mission of Madura entered upon a period of restoration and revival.

It was in 1836 that Gregory XVI. established the apostolic prefecture of Madura, and confided the care of the new mission to the French Jesuits. In 1846 he raised it to the rank of an apostolic vicariate, and appointed Father Alexis Canoz its first bishop. He had gone out to India as a missionary in 1839, and after five years of fruitful labour in the Marava country he had

* "The Indian Empire," by Sir W. Hunter, p. 374.

succeeded Father J. Bertrand as superior of the mission. As superior he founded the college of Negapatam, which, until the transfer of the establishment a few years ago to Trichinopoly, was the great centre of Catholic higher education in Southern India. From 1846 to 1858 Mgr. Canoz governed as bishop the rising mission of Madura; in 1858 he was transferred for awhile to Bombay to administer the affairs of that vicariate, but in the following year he returned to Madura, where he ended a laborious life by a saintly death on the eve of St. Francis Xavier's day, last December. He had spent nearly fifty years in India, and during his missionary life he had personally received into the Church some 20,000 converts. He had lived to see a stately edifice reared on the ruins of the old mission. In the first years of its re-establishment the death rate among the missionaries was fearfully high, but the experience of later years has shown that with proper precautions the work can be carried on without so terrible a loss of valuable lives. But even still, the climate, and the privations and labours of a missionary life, add each year new names to those who have already died *sur le champ d'honneur*, and thin the ranks of those who are labouring in this distant vineyard.

Considering the extent of the field committed to their care the number of the missionaries is a small one. There are now about eighty priests engaged in the work, of whom about twenty are attached to the college of Trichinopoly, leaving, at the utmost, sixty for the evangelization of the wide tract of country included in the mission. This territory is divided on the north-east from the adjacent archdiocese of Pondicherry by the rivers Cavery and Vennu; westward it is separated from the Carmelite missions in the kingdom of Travancore by the line of the Ghauts; southward and eastward its boundary is the sea. The population is nearly six millions. The approximate religious statistics are as follows:—

Pagans	5,631,000
Christians	{	Catholics	.	199,000	}	.	281,000
		Protestants	.	82,000	}	.	
Total							5,912,000

Of the Catholics, 29,000 are under the Goamese jurisdiction, the remaining 170,000 are under the jurisdiction of Mgr. Canoz, and under the care of the Jesuit missionaries. For purposes of administration the mission is organized in three divisions, and each of these is subdivided into *pangous*, or parishes, each of which has its central mission station, the residence of the missionary, and a number of secondary or outlying stations which he

visits at intervals. The actual divisions of the mission are shown in the following table:—

Division.	Districts comprised in the Division.	Principal Stations.	Secondary Stations.
North . .	{ Tanjore Trichinopoly }	13	141
Centre . .	{ Madura The Marava }	15	287
South . .	{ Palmacottah The Fishery Coast }	15	174

The mission contains 242 churches and 498 chapels, 148 schools for boys and 52 for girls, a great college at Trichinopoly in connection with the University of Madras, five orphanages, and two hospitals open to pagans as well as Christians. The girls' schools are under the care of the native nuns of Our Lady of the Seven Dolours. The staff of the mission consists of about 80 Jesuit priests, some of them natives, 137 catechists, and 288 schoolmasters. Twenty of the priests are engaged in the work of the college at Trichinopoly, leaving only about 60 for the numerous mission stations. These 60 priests have not only to attend to the spiritual needs of nearly 200,000 Catholics, but they have also to labour for the propagation of the faith among the 5,000,000 of pagans among whom these Catholics are scattered. The population is somewhat greater than that of London, the number of Catholics probably is also in excess of that of the Catholics of the metropolitan district. There are about 350 priests in London and its immediate neighbourhood, and they hardly suffice for the work they have to do. What would it be if there were only sixty, and if their flocks were scattered over a vast tract of country where communication is slow and difficult, instead of being concentrated in one great city? This is precisely the position of affairs in the Madura mission, and indeed in all the great missions of India, of which Madura may be taken as a type. The missionary can therefore only do his work by being constantly on the move. His *pangou*, or district, is not a small parish, but a tract of country containing sometimes as many as eighty villages, with a scattered flock of from three to eight thousand Christians. It is to this scattered flock that he has to devote his chief attention, rather than to the mass of pagans among whom they dwell. Indeed, his mission to the heathen is best accomplished by strengthening the native Christians in the faith, seeing that their practice comes up to their profession, and taking care that their children are educated to be good Catholics. If this can be done each Christian family becomes a centre of light to the paganism around, and the

Hindus come themselves to ask questions of the missionary, and to put themselves under his instruction. This is the policy which the missionaries of Madura are forced by their very position to adopt. It does not reproduce the popular idea of missionary work. Probably most people imagine the missionary sallying out into the crowd in the market-place, or before the temple, holding up the crucifix, and preaching to all who will stay to hear him. Such action would have very scanty results in India, and the missionary has to adopt more commonplace and prosaic methods. He has to think first of preserving what has been won, and experience shows that where the native Christians are well looked after, their numbers steadily increase.

In order to be able to travel about his large district the missionary has at his disposal a covered cart drawn by two oxen, and fitted up in such a way that it is a kind of little house on wheels.

My cart [writes a missionary] serves as my room while I am on the move during my expeditions. I pass whole days and nights in it. There I sleep, say my prayers, or read in the midst of all manner of shaking and jolting. I can tell you that there is not a spot in the little place of which I have not tested the solidity with my head or my shoulders. If you were to see me starting on one of my journeys you would have an idea of the quantity of baggage one has to get into this machine. On the seats I put my bedding, composed of a mat and a rug. There is a box which contains all that is necessary for Mass and the sacraments of baptism and extreme unction. A little case, which in France I should call my desk, holds my writing materials and a small sum of money. Then there is my umbrella, my lantern of bright tin, and some other odds and ends. You must remember that in some of the best of the village shops one cannot find even a box of matches; this will help you to understand how careful one must be in one's preparations before starting.

As for provisions one can find almost anywhere fowls, eggs, rice, and curry-powder. Beyond this you cannot get much in the country.

In some places the Christians are able to put a miserable room at one's disposal, but in others there is not a corner to be had. Often the cart is the best lodging. This is why one takes on the journey some plates and cooking utensils. These are stowed away under the seats, with some provisions. For instance, I take some bread cut into slices and toasted; treated in this way it keeps good for a long time. I have usually also a little coffee, some potatoes, and three bottles of wine. If anyone is scandalized at such luxuries he ought to just pass one month with a missionary—sharing his board and lodging—and I am sure he would come back in a better frame of mind.

A native catechist accompanies the missionary on his journey. He sets out from the central or chief station of his district, where he has a house and a small church, and visiting one by one

a circuit of villages, says Mass in the village chapel, if there is one, administers the sacraments, baptizes children and neophytes, and then proceeds upon his journey. In many of the villages the Christians are numerous; in some of them they form the majority. The periodical visit of the missionary to these villages is a great event for the poor country folk. He has been on the road all day and arrives in the evening. The Christians, young and old, crowd out to meet him, and his car is brought into the village in the midst of blazing torches and beating drums. At the church all the village is assembled, and as the priest passes through the crowd, the men bow down with their foreheads in the dust, and those who are nearest to him stretch out their hands to touch the hem of his white robe, and then kiss their hands as a sign of respect. Prayers are said, and a few words are spoken, and then the priest retires for a few hours of rest. But much has to be done before sunrise, for the missionary must perhaps be on the road again early next day. By two o'clock in the morning the children are ringing bells in the village street, and calling out "To Mass! to Mass!" The people are soon gathering at the church, where the priest hears confessions, and says Mass. About dawn he is visiting the sick, if there are any, and not long after sunrise he is on his car on the road again, bound for the next village, where he spends the middle of the day. In the evening he is at a third village, where the work of the night before is repeated. After each of these laborious circuits, he has a few days of partial rest at the central station of the district. Once a year he meets a number of his brethren, who assemble at one of the chief stations to meet their superior, and spend three days together. For the rest of the year he is, as a rule, working alone, so far as the help and society of other missionaries is concerned, but not entirely single-handed, for he has his catechists.

Without the native catechists the Indian missionary would be able to accomplish little or nothing. By means of his catechists he is able, as it were, to multiply himself, and keep the work of evangelization on foot in places where he himself could only appear from time to time. At the outset especially, the catechist, who travels with him, helps him to understand and communicate with the people; obtains him information to which otherwise he would have no access; acts as his right hand man in a hundred ways. Later on, the missionary becomes in some ways independent of such help. But there are other matters in which he always needs it, and in any case he must have the help of the catechists and schoolmasters who reside in the scattered villages. These, while the priest is absent, gather the people together for prayers, instruct the new converts and the children, answer the

inquiries of pagans who are being drawn to the faith—in a word, keep the little flock together in the intervals between the visits of the missionary. The catechist must be an intelligent man of good character. New converts are not of course appointed to the office, and the catechists, as a rule, belong to families that have been Christian for generations. Where they have to give their whole time to the work of the mission, they of course look to it for support. But in the villages the resident catechist often helps to support himself, and receives a very small annual sum as wages. In no case is the catechist's position a very lucrative one. The pay of a good man who devotes his whole time to the work is from ten to twelve rupees a month.* The resources of the Madura mission unfortunately do not permit of the employment of as many catechists as its great extent and excellent prospects would really require.

I have more than once mentioned the village churches. The word to English ears brings up the picture of the venerable country church, with its tower or spire rising above the surrounding cottages, or the mass of churchyard trees. But if one of the old country churches of England were transported to an Indian mission, it would be looked upon much in the same light as we regard the old cathedrals. There are some fine churches at Trichinopoly, and altogether the mission possesses about 140 chapels, well built of brick. These are generally to be found at the central mission station of a *pangou*, and most of them have been built by the native Catholics under the direction of the missionary, who in some cases has had to organize and carry on the whole work, from the drawing of the plan and the actual making of the bricks up to the roofing in and decoration of the building. But most of the village churches and chapels are very modest structures. Walls of sun-dried clay, a roof of palm leaves, supported on rough wooden posts, and an altar made of a bank of hardened earth: this is a complete description of a village chapel in the Madura mission. It is a poverty like that of Bethlehem. Of such chapels Père Boutelant, now the procurator of the mission, writes:—

The structure is hardly finished when the sun dries up the walls and makes cracks in them which become the refuge of all the scorpions and snakes in the neighbourhood. Rats make themselves at home in it, and bats hang on the walls. It is partly cleaned out when the arrival

* At the present rate of exchange this is from 13s. 6d. to 15s. a month. Any one who can afford to contribute this small sum monthly to a South Indian mission can put a catechist at work for it, and so extend the faith in a new district.

of the missionary is expected. When some red and white stuffs are to be had, the people festoon the rustic temple with these hangings, and above the altar a piece of cloth is carefully stretched to prevent anything falling on to it from the roof during the holy sacrifice. One day in the middle of Mass the people noticed an unusual movement in this improvised canopy. Something tolerably heavy had fallen upon it, and was evidently making an effort to get out, but its weight had so bent down the cloth that the snake (for this was what it was) could not climb out of the fold. The cries of the women warned the missionary of this new kind of sword of Damocles hanging over his head, and he admitted that he did not finish that Mass without some distractions.

A missionary of Madura wrote to me some time ago that a flood in his district had destroyed several churches and basilicas which he had built, and explained that the difference between a church and a basilica was that in the former the palm-leaf roof was supported on four wooden posts, while in the latter there were six. The mud walls filled up the space between the posts, and one advantage of this simple style of architecture was that in case of a flood, if the mud walls only yielded soon enough, the posts and roof generally remained, and the walls could easily be restored when the rain was over.

It is a tradition with Protestant writers to attribute the success of Catholic missions to the effect of a gorgeous ceremonial in attracting the heathen. With such sanctuaries and such poverty stately ceremonies are out of the question. Here is a letter in which a missionary describes the dedication of his church :—

On Sunday I am going to bless my chapel. To make the ceremony more impressive I should have liked to invite some other Father. But where could I lodge him? I find it difficult enough to get quarters for myself, without thinking about guests. But in any case neither Père Guichen nor Père Selvam could come, so I must reserve all the honours of the occasion for myself. One church has lent me an old cope, from another I have borrowed two wooden candlesticks. Père Selvam has given me twelve wax candles, and the Christians of Oudanandi will not only come over and sing the music of the Mass, but will bring me a thurible and a holy water sprinkler. So the chapel will be blessed, and I will sing my first Mass in it.

So far from stately churches and beautiful ceremonies forming an attraction for converts in the Madura mission, the reverse is the case. The wretched poverty of the village churches, and their mean surroundings, often impress most unfavourably the native mind. They are told that the Catholics believe that these little mud-built huts are, at the time of the Christian sacrifice,

the dwelling-place of God, and they ask why, if it is so, the God of the Christians has not great pagodas raised to his honour, or at least something better than the mud wall and the palm-leaf roof? To the Christian the story of Bethlehem and Nazareth explains the mystery; but one cannot help at times wishing that some of the wealth which is lavished on our European churches, in mere ornament or even temporary decoration, could be used to make these miserable chapels of the Indian missions a little more fit for the high purposes to which they are dedicated.

If the mission were completely organized the village school would naturally take its place beside the village church; but this ideal state of things only exists in some of the more important centres where the Catholics form a large proportion of the population. The want of more schools is one of the most pressing needs of the mission, a need all the more felt because the Protestant missions, with their numerous *personnel* and abundant resources, are able to maintain a large number of schools, and the Catholic children are often attracted to these schools, because they have no other means of getting, free of cost, or at a low rate, an education which will fit them for various minor government posts. Wherever the Catholics have been able to establish a school it has not only prospered, but has also led to a number of conversions from Protestantism or paganism, and the high-caste natives show a decided preference for the Catholic mission schools on account of the respect for caste observances shown in the arrangements of their institutions. So far as higher education is concerned the Catholic mission is master of the field. Very soon after the establishment of the modern mission a college was opened at Negapatam. This college was a few years ago transferred to Trichinopoly. It occupies a splendid range of buildings; one of its great halls, now a chapel, was originally a pagan temple. It has more than a thousand pupils, many of them Brahmans. It is affiliated to the Madras University, and its pupils have taken the highest places in the University examination lists. The college has given a considerable number of its graduates as novices to the Society of Jesus, and some of them are already priests, and labouring for the conversion of their fellow-countrymen. Its influence on native society in South India is considerable, as there are now large numbers of native gentlemen in good positions who owe their education to the College of St. Joseph, and have learned, at least, to respect the Catholic Church and its missionaries.

The following table will show the educational progress of the mission from 1881 to 1886. I have no detailed statistics on this head for the last two years:—

Year		Pupils in the College at Trichinopoly.		Boys in the Mission Schools.		Girls in the Mission Schools.
1881	...	400	...	6124	...	530
1882	...	400	...	6124	...	531
1883	...	800	...	6448	...	812
1884	...	981	...	5771	...	817
1885	...	992	...	5551	...	893
1886	...	975	...	6919	...	1448

As this table indicates, schools for girls are even less numerous than the boys' schools of the mission, but a beginning has been made, and the statistics show steady progress. The girls' schools and the orphanages are under the care of native nuns. One of the orphanages—that of Adeikalaburam—is the centre of a great work which each year sends thousands of souls to heaven. In India, even to a greater extent than in Europe, the mortality of infants is greater than that of any other age. In connection with this orphanage a society of native Christian virgins has been established with the object of baptising pagan children at the point of death. These devoted women nurse the little sufferers, and baptize them as soon as it is evident that their case is hopeless. In this way in a few years more than 40,000 baptisms have been administered. Often the poor mother, and even the whole family are won over to the faith by the kindness and zeal of the Christian woman who, unknown to them, has secured the eternal happiness of their child.

Throughout the mission there is everywhere evidence of great results obtained with scanty means, and in the face of enormous difficulties. One cannot help feeling that the finger of God is here. It is always satisfactory to be able to set down the record of progress in a mission in definite figures. The statistics of the mission of Madura show a steady increase, both in the number of Christians under the care of the missionaries, and in the number of adult baptisms. In 1875 the Catholics of the mission numbered 145,000; in 1882 they had increased to 182,000. Père Boutelant gives their numbers for 1887 as 199,000. We have thus :—

<i>Increase</i>	1875 to 1882 (seven years)	...	37,000
"	1882 to 1887 (five years)	...	27,000

That is about 64,000 in twelve years, or more than 5000 a year. A considerable part of this increase is of course due to the ordinary excess of births over deaths in the Christian population. But it appears that baptisms of adults are considerably over a thousand in each year. The following are the statistics of baptisms and conversions during the six years, 1881-1886 :—

Baptisms	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886
Of children of Christian parents .	5789	5401	6157	5944	6066	5414
Of converts from heathenism and Protestantism	779	785	1295	1274	1430	1460
Of heathen children in danger of death	1966	2494	2152	5586	6992	7150
	8534	8680	9604	12,804	14,488	14,024

The total number of conversions from heathenism and Protestantism during this period amounts to 7021, an average of more than a thousand a year. Some thirty years ago (in 1857) three hundred conversions were considered a splendid result for one year. It will be noticed that the conversions of 1886 were nearly twice as numerous as those of 1881. There is indeed every reason to believe that the tide of conversions is beginning to flow more rapidly, and it is quite possible that we are on the eve of a great movement towards Catholicity in the southern districts of the Madura mission. If the missionaries had more ample resources at their command, they would be better able to take advantage of this favourable crisis, but what they are actually effecting may be judged from the following details of a single *pangou* or mission district.

In 1863 the *pangou* or district of Satanculam contained about 7600 Catholics. In 1882 it was subdivided, and the new *pangou* of Sokendirupu formed out of a portion of it. This district now contains 7650 Catholics. Again, in 1887, the original *pangou* of Satanculam was subdivided, and the new district of Pudur was formed. It contains 2691 Catholics. Only a few years ago the Catholics of Pudur consisted of a single family. The *pangou* of Satanculam contains 3579 Catholics. Thus, where there was in 1863 a single *pangou* or parish with 7600 Christians, there are now three *pangous* with 13,940 Christians. These numbers do not, of course, include the catechumens, who are, as we shall presently see, a very numerous body.

Taking now the statistics of the new district of Satanculam, we find that its 3584 Catholics are dispersed in eighty villages. They have eleven churches, and seven little chapels, so that there is not quite one place of worship to every four villages. A single missionary is in charge of the district; he is assisted by twelve catechists, or schoolmasters, and three native nuns.

The following statistics supplied by the missionary in charge

of Satanculam show—(1) that many of the Christians are recent converts; (2) that a considerable number of native catechumens are under instruction; (3) that a still larger number are asking for instruction, which cannot be given to them because the one missionary and his small staff of catechists are only able to deal with a limited number of converts at a time.

PANGOU OF SATANCULAM.

Villages.	Catholics.		Catechumen.	
	Of long standing.	Lately received.	Under instruction.	Asking for instruction.
Satanculam	—	496	120	500
Puduculam	—	80	36	300
Nedunculam	—	164	96	100
Pandarapuram	—	12	89	250
Sinapur	—	—	220	100
Visciaramapuram	—	—	45	150
Supramaniapuram	—	—	—	150
Suparaiapuram	—	—	150	—
Adicicalapuram	—	—	85	200
Kadatchapuram	—	473	380	250
Oudancudhi	—	—	4	1000
Talarapuram	—	9	20	800
Sonnaperi	1144	243	4	60
Manniculam	74	62	—	—
Sangarenudhi	—	167	4	100
Alankinaru	—	90	—	—
Amatanacudhi	—	192	10	—
Pitchivilei	—	—	—	250
Peiculam	373	—	—	—
	1591	1988	1263	4210
Total	3579 Christians.			

Three thousand five hundred Christians actually received into the Church, 1200 pagans and Protestants under instruction, and some 4000 more asking for instruction—this is a picture of the state of affairs in a single district taken at haphazard. Here, at least, the fields are white for the harvest. But the labourers are a mere handful, and the material position of the district reveals the poverty of the mission. Few of the villages named have churches, and even that of Satanculam, the centre of the *pangou* is little better than a big barn, while the schools are even in a worse position than the churches. Here, if anywhere,

the alms of the faithful would multiply a hundredfold the already abundant fruits of missionary labour.

Besides poverty the missionaries of Madura have to contend with the hundred difficulties created by the opposition of wealthy Protestant missionary societies. In a former article on Protestant mission work in Tinneveli, I have shown what discreditable forms this opposition sometimes assumes. The subject is not a very pleasant one, and I shall say no more of it here. Other difficulties are caused by the opposition of the native landholders or *zemindars*. These men are mostly pagans. The peasant depends upon them for land, employment, life itself. Often, conversion to Catholicity means simply ruin to those poor people. Yet, with a heroism which is not easy to overestimate, they face such ruin for the sake of the truth. In some cases the missionaries have attempted with success to make their converts independent of a hostile local *zemindar*, by assisting them to become the proprietors of their land. In this way, for instance, the Christian settlement of Irudeyacoril—*i.e.*, the Village of the Sacred Heart—has been formed, with its five streets, each named after one of the saints, and its church of the Sacred Heart in the midst of all. The people of this Christian village are becoming by annual payments the proprietors of their own land. When the purchase is completed, the money originally advanced to them and repaid out of the results of their industry will be used to found another Christian settlement. The foundation of Irudeyacoril will thus have marked an epoch in the mission history of Southern India.

I have spoken throughout of the Christians as villagers. There are, of course, Catholic congregations, and flourishing ones, in the chief towns, notably at Trichinopoly, and Negapatam. Madura itself, though fallen from its high estate, has its Catholic church. But India is a land of villages, and the village congregations must always form the main strength of the Church. A very large proportion of the Catholics of Madura belong to the village caste, an agricultural caste of good standing, and the Catholics are far more successful among the better caste men than the Protestants. The Brahman Catholics are a mere handful, but it is hoped that, chiefly through the work done at Trichinopoly, an impression will yet be made on the men of this the highest caste. On this question of caste, I may quote some observations from a little work of my own, published by the Catholic Truth Society, and now nearly out of print* :—

As to the assertion that only men of low caste or no caste are drawn to the Church, Dr. Hunter tells us that in Madura and the

* "Notes on Catholic Missions," C. T. S., 1887, p. 50.

South "the converts are mostly agriculturists, but are by no means confined to the low castes," and adds that in South Kanara (in the Mangalore mission) "there are over 3000 Catholic Brahmans." Of course, high caste converts form only a small proportion of the converts; this is what is to be expected, considering that the high castes form only a small proportion of the population. Thus the census of 1871 revealed the fact, that of 149 millions of Hindus in the British territories and Mysore, only 10,131,541 claimed to be Brahmans, and 5,641,138 returned themselves as Kshatriyas and Rajpoots. Of course, this does not exhaust the whole list of the higher castes, but the fact that the Brahmans are ten in 149 is significant. It is to be noted, too, that some 24,000,000 of Hindus are returned as outcastes, men not claiming caste, aboriginal tribes, &c. It is not, then, surprising that the men of lower castes are more numerous in the Christian as well as in the general population.

In concluding our survey of this South Indian mission—it must not be forgotten that although it is some three centuries since De' Nobili began his labours for the conversion of Madura, the actual mission is not more than half a century old, and has been built up, not upon the structure raised by De' Nobili and his successors, but upon the utter wreck and the merest fragments of that structure. The grand results which the mission can now show have also been obtained in the face of difficulties which never presented themselves to the older missionaries. The rival Gospel of the sects is a worse obstacle to missionary work than all that a pagan persecutor could do; and, again, while the older mission was sustained by the ample largesses of the kings of Portugal and their viceroys at Goa, the new mission has had to depend on the alms of the faithful. Yet, with every disadvantage, the mission has gathered into the fold nearly 200,000 natives, and the stream of conversions is flowing steadily and with increasing volume. In missionary work it is emphatically the beginnings that are slow. When once considerable bodies of Christians have been gathered together, their influence becomes a force that tells upon the heathen around them. Moreover, converts being less isolated are more likely to persevere. The growth of a mission is, indeed, like the growth of a fire: at first it burns slowly and is easily put out, but once it has reached a certain point it spreads swiftly and irresistibly. We may therefore look for still greater results in the immediate future than have been obtained in the past. The very presence of native Catholic priests in the mission in increasing numbers is an augury of coming success.

St. Teresa once said that Teresa by herself could do nothing, Teresa with the grace of God could do a good many things, but Teresa with the grace of God and a few ducats could do every-

thing. Money is the great motive-power in every enterprise on earth, even though the end to be won is not of this world. To build and maintain churches, chapels and schools, orphanages and hospitals; to support the missionaries, the catechists, and the nuns, money is needed. The great difference, however, between India and Europe, is that the poverty of India (for India is a poor country) results in low prices and low wages, so that any alms sent from Europe produces results quite out of proportion to its value here. The very depreciation in value of the Indian silver coinage tells in favour of any one who wishes to help an Indian mission, for the sovereign is exchanged for far more than the ten rupees it used to bring a few years ago—fifteen is about the present value. Ten pounds will more than suffice to maintain a catechist or a native nun for a year; twenty pounds will build a village chapel, and a much better one than many of the villages now possess. It is true there are claimants enough for our alms at home, but surely the Catholics of these kingdoms are called upon to do something for Catholicity in the great empire from which England and the people of England draw so much of their wealth. This duty becomes all the more pressing when we consider how freely our Protestant fellow-subjects are spending their money on behalf of their Indian missions. Surely some effort should be made by Catholics to help the missionaries of India to hold their own against the rival missions of the sects which are sustained chiefly from England. To any one who can rise above the narrowed human considerations, and can look upon this question with the eyes of faith, it must be clear that a generous effort in favour of the Indian missions would help rather than in any way embarrass our work at home. Indeed, to the objection that we at home cannot afford to make such an effort, that our own local needs are so pressing as to leave us nothing to spare for distant missions, I can make no better reply than to quote the words of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Preaching some years ago a sermon in aid of St. Joseph's Missionary College, Mill Hill, His Eminence said:—

I can conceive that some one may say: "We need everything at home. We have thousands and tens of thousands without education. Half the population of London never go to church, perhaps have never been baptised; or if they were, they live as if they never had been. Here is our heathen world. Here is our missionary work. Why then send missionaries into other lands?" The answer is:—If you wish to put out a fire, you have only to stifle it. Stifle the zeal of the Church, and you extinguish it. Keep down the flame of the love of God and of your neighbour, and it will soon die out. This answer would be sufficient, but we have an ampler reply. Our Divine Lord has promised: "Give and it shall be given to you;" and, therefore, if I did

not know how to find the means even to build a school, I would not refuse alms to send the Gospel to the heathen. Be assured that the same Lord, who is Almighty, is also generous. He is able and willing to give us all we want. It is an axiom of faith that the Church was never yet made poor by giving its last farthing for the salvation of souls.*

The objection and the reply could not be better put, and not wishing in any way to underrate the claims of other missions, it may be said, without hesitation, that there is no mission in which the alms of the faithful will have more abundant and more immediate results than in the mission of Madura.

A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE.

ART. IV.—VICARS CAPITULAR.

1. *Dissertatio Historico-Canonica de Capitulo, sede vacante vel impedita, et de Vicario Capitulari.* HENRICUS JOSEPH LUDOVICUS HERMES, Ercliniensis, Presbyter Archidiœcesi Coloniensis, Juris Canonici Licentiat. Lovanii. 1873.
2. *Theorica et Praxis Regiminis Diœcesani*, præsertim sede vacante, a Sac. Prof. JOSEPHO C. FERRARIS, SS. D. N. Pii Papæ IX. Prælato Domestico et jam Vicario Capitulari Archidiœcesi Januensis. Parisiis. 1876.

MEDIEVAL England, notwithstanding its many and very sad shortcomings, contributed as much as any other country to the solid advancement of theology, for it gave birth to Alexander of Hales, Richard Middleton, better known as Ricardus, or Mediavilla, Scotus, Robert Holcot, and John Bacon. Alexander of Hales is the irrefragable, Richard Middleton is the solid, Scotus is the subtle, doctor. These three were Grey Friars, poor mendicants of St. Francis. Adam Goddam, of the same order, is not so well known. Robert Holcot, was one of the Black Friars of St. Dominic, and the resolute doctor, John Bacon, was of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, a White Friar.

William of Ockham had also a great name, but the "venerable inceptor of Nominalism" fell away from the truth, and the

* "Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects," vol ii., pp. 372, 373.

brand of heresy is on his brow. Thomas Bradwardine, once Chancellor of London and Canon of Lincoln, was one of the very few secular priests who were confessors of the kings of England. He was confessor of Edward III., and was made Archbishop of Canterbury. To him we owe a very ample book, which somehow or other has been treated with considerable neglect, but it has never been condemned.

The kindred science of law, not less necessary than theology in the administration of the church, found less favour in the land, though it abounded in courts and lawyers from the Conquest down to the schism. We can produce no canonist who in his own science can be compared with any one of the theologians already mentioned in theirs. There are no learned treatises on ecclesiastical law, nor any commentaries on the Decretals, and those who would make themselves acquainted with even the elements of the science must have recourse to foreign canonists. Notwithstanding all this, England has contributed very largely towards the advancement of the science, seeing that the Decretals abound in decisions made primarily for the benefit of English litigants and English delinquents.

Richard Middleton, the Grey Friar, is said to have been an accomplished jurist,* and Robert Winchelsey, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, is said to have written on certain questions of law; but nothing is accessible now to us beyond the commentaries of John, a canon of Lincoln, and those of William Lyndwood, who became Bishop of Menevia. John of Lincoln wrote commentaries on the constitutions of the two legates, the Cardinals Otho and Othobon. William Lyndwood was in his day Dean of the Arches, and official or vicar-general of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore conversant with all processes of law, especially of appeals. He has always been held in great honour as an ecclesiastical lawyer, and his commentaries on certain constitutions made from time to time for the province of Canterbury are not only well-known but highly esteemed. Yet it may be said of them, perhaps with perfect justice, that they are of greater service now to the antiquarian than they are to the lawyer.

If we had not many jurists, we had lawyers in abundance, and almost countless courts wherein they pleaded. There were courts of priors and of abbots, courts of the cathedral chapters, courts of some of the deans, and even of single canons. There were courts in places exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop, then came the courts of the archdeacons, and the courts of the

* Gul. Vorillon, 4 Sentt. dist. 17. Frater Richardus de Mediavilla qui fuit amplissimus jurista.

bishops themselves. These courts had a judge, a registrar, and an apparitor, and as the judges neither did nor could always sit in the courts themselves, they had their vicars or officials who supplied their absence; possibly some of these latter personages were pluralists, but the ecclesiastical judges must still have been very many. Causes of matrimony were generally litigated in the first instance in the courts of the archdeacons. Any dissatisfaction with the sentence of that court was made known by way of appeal to the bishop, if the cause was not taken straight to the Pope without reference to the bishop or the archbishop. But no appeal from the sentence of the archdeacon could be presented in the court of the archbishop; it must have been heard in the court of the suffragan before the primate could take cognizance of it. The bishop's jurisdiction in appeals was confined to those from the courts of his archdeacons. The other ecclesiastical courts, as for instance that of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, was not subject to the bishop's control; the appeals from them were carried directly either to Canterbury or to Rome.

The Archbishop of Canterbury stood so high that his brother primate of York was very little more than his suffragan. The Bishop of Durham in secular pomp and splendour was a greater prelate than his immediate superior in York. That bishop was a real king; he had of course all the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but he had also all the civil jurisdiction as well; he appointed all the judges, all the local magistrates, and he allowed no one to sit in the House of Commons as a member for any part of his dominions. If the public peace were disturbed, the indictment of the evildoers was that they had broken the peace of the bishop, not the peace of the king as in other counties. The bishop was the king, and the king's writs did not run, as the lawyers speak, within the bishopric; the judges of assize, holding their commissions from the bishop, were little more than the assessors of the seneschal of Durham.

Though the Archbishop of Canterbury was not a prince palatine as the Bishop of Durham was, he was a very great and formidable personage, and in the lands of the archbishop the king had but scanty authority, and could interfere only when the highway was obstructed, and when murder had been done upon it. The archbishop had manors outside the county of Kent, and within the dioceses of his suffragans. In all these manors the jurisdiction belonged to him, not to the bishop, and the courts held in them were the courts of the archbishop, and generally known as his peculiars. Thirteen parishes within the diocese of London belonged to him, and formed a distinct jurisdiction, which he administered through a vicar, the Dean of the Arches. The king and the queen, whenever they were in

England, were within the jurisdiction of the archbishop, as if he were their parish priest. It was his privilege to crown the king, and that of the Archbishop of York to crown the queen. Each Archbishop of Canterbury, on becoming archbishop, had the right of putting one nun without any dowry in every monastery within the province. If he exercised that right rigorously, it would be very hard upon poor nunneries, but they must submit under pain of excommunication for the abbess or prioress if they refused to accept the archiepiscopal postulant.

The State gradually deprived the bishops of nearly all their rights after the great contest with St. Thomas, but failed, or did not attempt, to deprive them of their jurisdiction over last wills and testaments; these were always proved in the bishop's court. But if the property of the dead lay in another diocese than that in which he died, and exceeded a certain sum, then the bishop lost his right, for in that condition of things the will must be proved before the archbishop of the province whose prerogatives reached so far. It was more or less an usurpation of episcopal rights, but it was often an advantage to executors; and bishops, to save the fees of their officials, entered into compositions with the primate, whereby they saved also some of their dignity. The will of a bishop, no matter where he died, must be proved in the court of the archbishop, and if he died intestate, his own court could issue no letters of administration. These must be had from the prerogative court of the primate. If the bishops suffered from the exactions of the archbishop, he too had to endure in his turn, for when Cardinal Wolsey, who was Archbishop of York, and as such greatly the inferior of Canterbury, obtained the faculties of "*Legatus à latere*," he became a greater personage than the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was only "*Legatus natus*," and being legate he set his officers to prove wills and testaments, to the great detriment of the officials of the prerogative court, and the sore vexation of Archbishop Warham.

The archbishop had a court in Canterbury, the judge of which was his vicar, for the administration of the diocese, while his official proper was more or less employed in the affairs of the province, which were heavy; for the archbishop not only heard appeals from the lower courts, but had also original jurisdiction in every diocese of the province, because he was *ex officio* legate, and had his court of audience.

He held this court out of his diocese, generally in the church of St. Paul, London, thereby making it very clear that it was not the court of an archbishop only, for no archbishop can have a court of audience. Into this court he could summon any one, and his citations must be respected in every part of the province, because he represented the Pope himself. When faith was dying

in the land, people complained of this court, and would have disputed its power if they could, but it lived on, and survived the faith itself, at least in appearance, and is in existence at this day. Cranmer, after denying the authority of the Pope, continued to style himself "*Legatus natus*," and held the court of audience, as if he also held the faith. People who knew the law reproached him, and denied his right, whereupon he betook himself to his master, the anti-Pope, for counsel and direction. Henry VIII. "bade the archbishop maintain his court," for the anti-Pope would have his anti-legates. Cranmer's mind was set at rest, and replied to his objectors "that he kept not his court by virtue of his bull from Rome for legate, and that none could suspect that he did."* That is very true, and so he held the court of the Pope in the king's name, without shame or remorse, as he kept the palaces at Canterbury, Lambeth, and elsewhere, with the manors belonging to them, as a fraudulent tenant, refusing to pay the rent of obedience to the Pope, his landlord.

Parker, who detained the revenues of the see of Canterbury with the help of another anti-pope who was a woman, while describing the courts of the archbishop, was not honest enough to confess the origin of the court of audience, and it is difficult to believe that his silence was the fruit of his ignorance. He must have known that the court was or might have been nearly as old as the see of Canterbury, for St. Augustin was made legate by St. Gregory the Great. There is also the confirmation of the dignity by Leo XII. when St. Dunstan was primate. The archbishop being "*Legatus natus*," had of necessity his court of audience, for such a court is the proper court of the legate.

In the year 1676 the Archbishop of Gnesen applied by letter to Gilbert Sheldon for information about the rights and prerogatives of a "*Legatus natus*." Leo X. in 1515 made the Archbishops of Gnesen legates, and in doing so said that the church of Gnesen was to have the privileges of Canterbury. The Archbishop having lost the records of the church, which had been wasted, believed that Sheldon, whom he did not regard as a Catholic, would supply him with the information he required. He was not disappointed, and he received from Canterbury a very full and fair account of the powers vested in him, and which Sheldon said were also his, though, as he confessed, Henry VIII. had stripped the Pope of his jurisdiction in England.

Among the rights of the legate, always enjoyed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by Sheldon himself, was that of correcting the delinquencies and negligences of suffragan bishops.

At the present time Dr. Benson, successor of Sheldon, is holding

* Strype, "*Memorials of Cranmer*," chap. x.

a court in Lambeth, for the correction of a suffragan; but he appears to sit simply as archbishop, which is against law, and the act is at variance with the letter of Sheldon. He ought to sit as "*Legatus natus*."

Dr. King and his lawyers seem to be aware of the mistake of Dr. Benson, and they appear under protest, but the condemnation of Dr. King is certain, because Dr. Benson has placed himself in the wrong position. If Dr. King were to appeal from an interlocutory order, before the final sentence, to the archbishop as "*Legatus natus*," he would probably escape; and if he does there is no court in England, and there never was a court, to which appellants could go from the court of the legate. Dr. Benson might quash all the sentences of the Privy Council because his court is above it. Furthermore, there is no Act of Parliament to be found by which the court of the legate has been suppressed. All he has to do is to receive the appeal and retain the cause in the legatine court.

It was probably as legate that the Archbishop of Canterbury, in those old times, ruled his province so absolutely as to make the bishops his vicars rather than his suffragans. When he sent out his mandates the Bishop of London was his messenger. The Bishop of Rochester was his cross bearer, the Bishop of Worcester his chaplain. In every diocese he said Mass pontifically, as if he were in his own see, without respect to the bishop, and consecrated every church built on his own manors, though they were beyond the boundaries of his bishopric, and all this without the slightest contradiction, for it was his acknowledged and undoubted right.

His power was most visible during the vacancies of the suffragan sees. Before the Conquest, when an abbot died, the bishop of the diocese protected the property of the monastery, and when a bishop died the archbishop, not the chapter, took possession of the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction.* This was changed at the Conquest, and King William took into his own keeping all the estates of deceased abbots and bishops, but without wasting them:† surrendering them afterwards, with the revenues of the vacancy, to the new bishop and abbot; a practice departed from by his son and successor, William the Red, who seized the tem-

* Ordericus Vitalis, lib. viii. c. 8. Antequam Normanni Angliam obtinissent, mos erat ut, dum rectores ecclesiarum obirent, episcopus cœnobiorum quæ in sua diocesi erant, res sollicitè describeret, et sub ditione sua donec abbates legitime ordinarentur, custodiret. Similiter archiepiscopus episcopi res, antistite defuncto, servabat.

† *Id.*, lib. iv. c. 6. Nam dum pastor quilibet completo vite suæ termino de mundo migraret et ecclesia Dei proprio rectore viduata lugeret, sollicitus princeps prudentes legatos ad orbatam domum mittebat, omnesque res ecclesiæ, ne a profanis tutoribus dissiparentur, describi faciebat.

poralities of every bishopric and abbey as soon as they became vacant. His successors walked in the ways of this Jeroboam, and the archbishop with difficulty saved the ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the royal clutches.

At first the kings allowed the archbishop to fill the vacant benefices, and then, repenting of their generosity, seized on the presentation, as if they were the lawful patrons; and allowed the archbishop only that which they could not decently usurp, namely, the institution to the vacant benefices. On the death of the archbishop the prior of Canterbury governed not only the diocese but also the province as the archbishop had done. Elections of suffragans were confirmed by the prior in the chapter of the monks of Christchurch; bishops submitted, but some rebelled, and the dispute was carried to the Holy See. This claim of the monks of Canterbury certainly seems excessive, for the monastery, by the death of the archbishop, could not pretend to be legate of the Pope, and its jurisdiction during the vacancy must have been only the ordinary jurisdiction; the legatine powers being not ordinary. When matters came to this condition the Pope resumed the right once conceded to the archbishop, and every suffragan's election was confirmed or annulled by the Pope himself.

With the exception of the two chapters of Canterbury and York no chapter in England ever held the jurisdiction during a vacancy. No chapter was ever allowed to elect a vicar, and no chapter was in possession of even the semblance of a right to elect a bishop till the beginning of the thirteenth century, so heavy was the hand of the king and so timid were the canons. On the vacancy of a suffragan see the king seized the temporalities and the archbishop the spiritualities, who sent one of his clerks to govern the vacant see and receive all the fees which during plenarty had been paid to the clerks of the bishop deceased. This was a grievance, or was made into a grievance; it being said that the archbishop's officers were too exact in demanding all that was due to them. The chapters of Salisbury, Lincoln, and London, and the prior and monks of Worcester, made a composition with the archbishop, by means of which they were allowed to elect a commissary or vicar, who should administer the see during the vacancy. The prior of Worcester became *ex officio* administrator or vicar, but the secular chapters were to nominate two or three fit persons, one of which the archbishop bound himself to accept, so long as this arrangement remained in force; it being understood on both sides that any archbishop could set it aside; for no bishop can bind his successor in a matter touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction without the sanction of the sovereign Pontiff.

The canons of these churches gained little or nothing by this agreement with the archbishop, but the prior of Worcester gained much; he would escape all disputes with the officers of the archbishop. The canons, on the other hand, gained only this, that they might have a friend to rule them, but the commissary or vicar was in no sense theirs; he belonged wholly to the archbishop, to whom he must account for his acts and for all fees received. The incoming bishop could not make any claims upon him even if he had done wrong; he was the officer of the archbishop, and very few bishops would have ventured to question the acts of the Archbishop of Canterbury, even if they had the law on their side.

It seems that in England there never has been a real free election of bishops by the chapters, not even in theory; still less is there any trace of a vicar capitular before the first synod of Oscott, A.D. 1852. There is no certainty that any Saxon chapter elected a bishop or vicar capitular. After the Conquest the kings had a form of election by deputies of the chapters in the royal chapel, and so grinding was the oppression that the immediate successor of that St. Thomas who had given his life for the liberties of the church, thought it prudent to submit without any attempt to follow in the footsteps of the martyr. So careless was he even of the mere decencies which should surround all ecclesiastical acts that he confirmed the election of his suffragans not in his own court but in the palace of the king.*

In the early part of the thirteenth century the cathedral chapters were promised their liberty, but the promise was very imperfectly kept, for they were compelled to ask for the royal licence to hold the election, and the canons were too often put under pressure. No man yet has ever given a decent reason for this intermeddling of the king; who has no more right than a beggar to govern the kingdom which our Lord founded on St. Peter. He who meddles with the jurisdiction of that kingdom of his own authority is an enemy, and his acts are sacrilege. The secular power has no right to interfere in the administration of the church, it has nothing to do with the succession of bishops except to respect it. The privileges of the chapters are not privileges granted by the State, they are the concessions of the Pope, who is the sovereign and universal bishop from whom the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction flows.

Vacant churches were administered diversely in divers ages, and the present mode of that administration was settled in the Council of Trent, though not even then in a mode wholly new. The jurisdiction of the see become vacant devolves upon the

* De Appellationibus, c. *Quâ fronte*.

chapter, but the chapter is not allowed to exercise it any more than the vicar-general of the late bishop. Buonaparte, when first consul of France, by the Articles Organiques, which he fraudulently put forth as belonging to the Concordat, ordered the vicar-general of the late bishop to administer the see so long as it should remain vacant. That was a very disgraceful infringement of the ecclesiastical law, and even he was made ashamed of it, and withdrew it from execution;* but it still remains among those odious articles of oppression of which the Holy See has complained to no purpose, and was for seven years treated by the Emperor and his Jansenist advisers as the law of the Church as well as of the State in France.

This article was a direct attack on the canons made in Trent, for the vicar of the late bishop is disqualified, if he is not a doctor of canon law,† and between 1802 and 1810, when nearly all the Catholic universities had been in disorder, it was probably very difficult to find in the whole of France a sufficient number of ecclesiastics who had taken the degree of doctor in canon law; for the vicar capitular must be one who is a graduate publicly created in the ordinary way in a university, and not one to whom the title of doctor has been given by way of favour or by any lay authority within or without the church. But if there be no doctor of canon law to be had, then any fit person may be made vicar; and not every doctor is a true doctor in the meaning of the canon of Trent: he must be learned in the law; for, according to Ventriglia‡ it is not to be supposed that the Council intended to recognize doctors without learning as fit administrators of a vacant diocese.

The chapter must provide for the vacant church within eight days of the vacancy, if it fails to do so the metropolitan supplies its neglect, and the chapter forfeits its right, but it may recover it on the death or resignation of the vicar appointed by the metropolitan.

The jurisdiction of the vacant diocese sleeps in the chapter till the vicar is appointed—that is, during eight days, or parts of the same if they are divisible, and Zitelli§ says that the chapter

* See Champeaux, "*Le Droit Civil et Ecclesiastique*," ii. p. 452.

† Pignatelli, tom. vii. consult. 4, n. 9. Si episcopus demortuus, reliquit vicarium quem elegerat, cum non esset doctor, capitulum non debet eum confirmare sed alium qui sit doctor eligere.

‡ De Capitulo sed. vac. annot. 15, sec. 2, n. 5. Semper quod concilium loquitur de doctoribus, intelligendum est de doctoribus ab universitate; nec veri simile est intellexisse de graduatis extra publicas universitates generalis studii, cum in his præsumatur doctrinæ defectus, et vocentur doctores ficti et bullati, etiam si sint creati a principe, aut de ipsius mandato, et vocantur asini.

§ De Dispensationibus Matrim. c. i. s. 4. In casu urgentissimæ necessitatis capitulum, sede vacante, a quo ac episcopus dispensare potest, usque ad deputationem vicarii capitularis.

can exercise it in granting certain dispensations if there be a pressing necessity. The jurisdiction is certainly in the chapter, but it is not clear that the chapter can use it. The opinion of Zitelli is not only new, but at variance with the decree of Trent. The decree purports to declare all the rights and duties of the canons during the vacancy;* these are to appoint one or more stewards to take care of the property of the see, and one official or vicar to govern it. No other functions are assigned to the chapter. It would be at least a very hazardous affair if the canons under their common seal granted any dispensations upon which depended the validity of a marriage.

The question, if ever it was raised, has been determined by Pius VII. in his letter† to Monsignor Corboli, archdeacon of Florence and vicar capitular of that church. The declaration of his Holiness is that the chapter of a vacant see has but one duty and one act—namely, to appoint a vicar; and, moreover, that the meaning of the decree made in Trent is that which he assigns to it. This interpretation of the decree of the council of Trent has been repeated and confirmed even within our memory by his Holiness Pius IX. in the Bull “*Romanus Pontifex*.”

The vicar who governs the vacant church is only in name the vicar of the chapter, he is not its vicar as the vicar of the bishop is his. Him the bishop can remove at his pleasure, but the chapter has no control over the vicar capitular; on the contrary, he has jurisdiction over the chapter and over every member of it, though he has not any right to determine when it shall meet. In its assemblies the chapter is free, and the vicar cannot demand a sight of its acts. All vicars proper are removable by those who appoint them,‡ and as the chapter cannot remove the vicar capitular the vicar is not strictly speaking the vicar of the chapter, and is rather the vicar of the bishop who is to come, or as Zabarella§ says, the vicar of the episcopal jurisdiction. Notwithstanding the greatness of his authority and of his jurisdiction over the whole diocese and chapter, he has no seal of his own whereby to authenticate his acts. He cannot use the episcopal seal, and he must use the seal of the chapter, which is probably a sign that the jurisdiction is in the chapter, though it can make no act whatever of it.

* Sess. xxiv. *De reform.* c. 16. Quid muneris incumbat capitulo, sed. vac

† Zamboni, *in voce* Capitulum, s. 12. *Nota.* Synodus Tridentina . . . nihil aliud muneris, ac proinde potestatis ipsis capitulis incumbere declarans quam ut œconomum unum vel plures, ut officialem seu vicarium infra octo dies constituere teneatur.

‡ Decisiones Capellæ Tholosan. Quæst. 481, n. 2. Revocare vicarium potest ipse constituens.

§ In Clement, *De Rescriptis Et si principalis*, n. 15.

It is not necessary that the vicar should be a priest, though it may be more seemly that he should be at least in holy orders. He, like the vicar of the bishop, may be merely a tonsured clerk. But he must be a secular, not a regular, not an archdeacon in another diocese, nor be a person having cure of souls outside the episcopal city.* He must reside, though not in the palace of the bishop, as near to the cathedral church as possible, where he must hold his court, for he may not, like the bishop, hold it in any part of the diocese. This is the hindrance to persons having cure of souls in the country being made vicars, they are bound to reside where they have cure of souls, and the bishop being dead there is no one who can dispense with them in the matter of residence. The chapter has no jurisdiction, and the vicar cannot give a dispensation to himself. Who is qualified to be the vicar?

There seems a general consent against theologians. In the first place, a doctor in theology must not be appointed vicar, and his appointment can be tolerated only where there are no doctors of canon law fit for the office, and when the theologian is endowed with the gift of government.

The doctor in theology is not a doctor according to the requirements of the council, and he has therefore no better claim to the office than any other person, unless he be specially gifted. There seems to be a strong prejudice against theologians, which is justified by another prejudice or presumption, which theologians would not admit to be just—namely, that they are never good and impartial judges when they sit in the ecclesiastical courts.†

The canon theologian of the chapter, being, as he generally is, a doctor, is not to be made vicar capitular if it can be helped, and his appointment would be valid only in the absence of persons whom the Council of Trent has designated for the office. But the objection to him is not so insurmountable as the objection to the canon penitentiary. No bishop is allowed to make the cathedral penitentiary his vicar, and thus, for graver reasons, the chapter must not entrust the government of the vacant church to one who has the whole jurisdiction in the two courts, but cannot appoint a penitentiary to supply his place. The canon penitentiary has so much to do with the inner and secret court of

* Marchetti de Angelinis, *Prax. Vicar.*, part i. tit. i. n. 48. Non potest eligi in vicarium capitularem persona regularis . . . neque archidiaconus alienæ ecclesiæ . . . neque parochus vel habens curam animarum.

† Solorzano de Indiarum jure, tom. ii. lib. iii. c. 13, n. 29. Viri theologi, etsi litteratissimi sint, non satis jurisprudentiæ praxim et theoricam callent, et proinde multoties, ex capite et pro arbitrio sententias proferunt, et ubique a veritatis et justitiæ tramite deviant.

the church, that it would be very dangerous to commit the contentious jurisdiction of the see into the hands of one who may be compelled to hear in the confessional very serious matters which he might be required to hear again and determine in public. This would be a grave scandal, and an occasion of much murmuring and discontent. Thus it is that bishops abstain generally from hearing the confessions of their subjects, as did St. Charles Borromeo.* If there be the risk of scandal in the hearing of confessions by bishops who have their vicars or officials to sit in the public court of the see, and thereby release the bishop from the obligation of hearing causes in person, the risk must be immeasurably greater when the penitentiary sits in the episcopal consistory, and must, if required, sit and judge in his place in the tribunal of penance.

Ferraris,† himself vicar capitular, speaks very clearly in this sense, and say that it is the common opinion of the doctors that the chapter must abstain from entrusting the administration of the vacant see to the canon penitentiary who has duties to perform inconsistent with the functions of the vicar.

It is not lawful for the chapter to make the bishop of another see the vicar of the vacant church. That question was raised in France when Cardinal Maury, bishop of Montefiascone, on the death of Cardinal de Belloy, accepted from the Emperor the see of Paris and from the chapter the vicariate to enable him to govern the church before the Pope accepted the Imperial presentation.

In the first place, the Cardinal violated the canon *Avaritia cecitas*, and in the second place, he being the bishop of one see, interfered in the administration of another which was not his. His appointment by the chapter as vicar capitular, setting on one side the other irregularities and violations of law, was illegal and invalid in this: that he was already a bishop elsewhere. So decided Pius VII.‡

* Piasec. Praxis Episcop., part ii. c. i. n. 18. B. Carolus Borromeus interdu sacramentum pœnitentiæ ministrare ab episcopi officio alienum non putabat, et episcopos, qui id fecissent commendabat, non tamen ipse perfecit.

† Theorica et Praxis Regimin. diœces, n. 135. Prohibentur . . . pœnitentiarum ecclesiarum præsertim cathedralium, ne abstrahantur ab eorum officio, neve suspicio excitetur, eos uti scientia confessionis, ut declaravit S. Congreg. Episcoporum in una Ariminen. 28 Jan., 1611, et 13 Maii, ac 15 Jul. ejusdem anni. Licet in hac decisione agatur de vicario episcopi, tamen communis est sententia doctorum, a fortiori obtinere in vicario capituli.

‡ Zamboni, *ut supra*, ep. ad Cardin. Maury. Præterquam quod a spirituali vinculo quo ecclesiæ Montis-Falisci devinctus es, quisnam te dissolvit? aut quisnam tecum dispensavit ut a capitulo eligi posses et alterius ecclesiæ administrationem susciperes? Inj the letter to Monsignor Corboli, Pius VII. again pronounces a bishop *inhabilis* as vicar capitular.

They who maintained that the bishop of another see might be the vicar of the widowed church, wrote before the decision of Pius VII. was made. Pius IX. has destroyed in the Bull, *Romanus Pontifex*, many opinions once current and accepted, which were regarded as more in favour of the chapters than of the vicar whom it appoints. Though a bishop who has a diocese to govern may not be a vicar, yet a titular bishop may be, if he is not auxiliary to another bishop. An auxiliary bishop is so bound to the bishop who employs him that he cannot under any circumstances, while that bishop lives, pontificate in another diocese without the leave of the Pope; the license of the ordinary is not enough for him, though it suffices for ordinary bishops.* But as the auxiliary is bound only to the bishop, not to the diocese, nor to the chapter, he may be lawfully appointed vicar capitular in the diocese in which he had served the bishop who is gone. He is free from the restraints laid upon him by the consistorial decree of St. Pius V., and may now pontificate in any other diocese with the license of the ordinary.†

This brings us to another question. The vicar capitular, being a bishop, can do all the acts of a bishop and has the jurisdiction also in his hands. It is said by some that the vicar can therefore pontificate in the diocese, and do almost everything a bishop may do except sitting on the episcopal throne. Now no bishop, not even the archbishop of the province, can lawfully pontificate in the vacant diocese without the licence of the ordinary, who is none other than the vicar capitular, and one of the duties of the vicar is to defend and maintain the episcopal jurisdiction against all aggressors. Any bishop who exercises the "pontificalia" in the vacant diocese is an aggressor, if he has not obtained the permission of the vicar. Moreover, the vicar when he gives this permission is bound to obtain security from the alien bishop‡ that he claims no right, and must protest himself that he allows of no right in the bishop to enter the vacant diocese other than the permission he has given him.

If the vicar capitular, being a bishop, pontificate in the diocese, it is very difficult to understand how he can give leave to himself, or protest against his own acts.

Ventriglia § had great experience in ecclesiastical law before

* Fagnan. De Privilegiis, c. *episcopalia*, n. 48.

† Barbosa. Apostol. Decision. Collect. 286, n. 11. Non potest eadem Pontificalia exercere, ut exercuit vivente episcopo, post illius mortem, capitulo non contradicente.

‡ Caus. vii. q. 1. *Pontifices*.

§ Praxis for. Eccles. de Capitulo Sede vacante, s. 2, n. 55. Potest quoque Vicarius Capitularis, si Episcopus est, exercere Pontificalia in ecclesia vacante de licentia capituli.

he became a bishop, and whatever he says deserves respect. He, admitting that a vicar capitular, who is also a bishop, can pontificate in the vacant see, says that it must be with the consent of the chapter. Leurenus* agreeing with him in opinion, disagrees with him in his reason for it, and says most truly that the chapter has nothing to say and nothing to do, because the whole jurisdiction is in the hands of the vicar. Certainly the chapter during the vacancy of the see cannot interfere with the acts of the vicar, who is as absolute as the bishop himself. So Leurenus argues that the vicar capitular may pontificate because he has it in his power to allow other bishops to pontificate in the diocese.

The same opinion is held by Santi,† who defends it very much as Leurenus has done, though he does not refer to him or to Ventriglia. He grounds his opinion (in this he differs from them) upon recognized maxims of the law, and gives a reason which deserves examination. It does not appear that the question has been decided; certainly if it had been settled the learned professor could not have spoken as he did.

It is said that what a man may do by the ministry of others he can execute himself; though this may be true in many instances, it is not true in all. An archbishop‡ who has not received the pallium cannot consecrate his suffragans, but he can give licence to another bishop to execute that ministry. A judge orders a criminal to be put to death, but he cannot inflict the punishment himself. A patron can present a clerk to the bishop, but he cannot present himself. So a bishop can institute a clerk as parish priest, but he cannot institute himself. Thus there are many things which a man can have done by others, but which he cannot and must not do himself.

There are other considerations which make us hesitate to accept this opinion as safe. All are agreed that the vicar comes into possession of the jurisdiction which devolves on the chapter

* Vicarius Episcopalis, Qu. 600, n. 2. Videtur tamen satis data illi ista licentia in generali Vicariatus commissione. Si enim, sine speciali, ut jam dictum commissione potest dare eam licentiam extero episcopo, cur non et sine illa exercere posset eadem per se, ubi ea exercendi capax est.

† Prolection. Juris Canon. de offici. Vicar., n. 62. Quamvis hæc quæstio a doctoribus communiter non pertractetur, tamen ex notis principiis juris hæc teneri posse videtur sententia, ut nempe quoties potest vicarius extraneo episcopo licentiam concedere juxta dicta superius ad actus potestatis ordinis exercendos sive in diocesi, sive quod clericos diocesanos ordinandos possit per seipsum eosdem actus ponere. . . . Ratio est quia qui aliquid potest facere per alios, cæteris paribus, a fortiori per seipsum facere potest.

‡ Taellez, in cap. *Suffraganeis*. Archiepiscopus ante pallii receptionem, licet consecrare episcopum non possit, potest tamen episcopo demandare talem consecrationem.

the moment the see is vacant, and that he has no greater jurisdiction. It is also admitted that his function is to administer the see, and at the proper time transfer it to the bishop with undiminished rights. This is the reason why the Fathers of Trent insisted on having a lawyer for vicar. They desired for the office of vicar a doctor of both laws, civil and canon, and failing that, a doctor at least of canon law or a licentiate, who is substantially a doctor,* but not so called in some universities, failing even this, a fit person. The vicar was to administer the see as its guardian, not as its bishop, and to defend its rights if assailed, by legal means according to law, and for that end they determined, if possible, to have an accomplished lawyer, learned in both laws.†

The episcopal powers which devolve on the chapter are the powers which are called jurisdiction only; not those powers which belong to the order and which the bishop receives in the sacrament of ordination. These latter powers are therefore beyond the reach of the vicar,‡ and if he finds any necessity for them while in office he must have recourse to the charity of neighbouring bishops.§ All the provisions of the law concerning the vicar are provisions for one who is not even in holy orders.

When the church has remained vacant a whole year the vicar capitular (Conc. Trid. sess. vii. cap. 10) may grant letters dimissory to the candidates for orders. It is clear that he cannot himself accept his own letters,|| for letters dimissory necessarily require two distinct persons beside the candidates. If he ordains them without letters dimissory he, a strange bishop, ordains them without the licence of their superior, who is the bishop or the ordinary,—in this instance himself, contrary to the canons ¶ which forbid a bishop to ordain clerks not his subjects without

* Mandosius: Comm. in Regg. Cancellariæ, Reg. 16, qu. 11, n. 4. Licentiatuſ qui tunc dicitur quando prævio privato examine habuit licentiam se quandocunque doctorari faciendi, et ad gradum doctoratus ascendendi, non dum tamen actu ascendit.

† De Brancaccinis. de jure Doctoratus, lib. ii. c. 7, n. 2. Nemo enim satis probe canonici juris aggredi valet interpretationem, qui et juris civilis apprime non sit scientia imbutus.

‡ Sanguinetti, Jur. Eccles. Institut. 348, ff. Ei non competunt quæ pertinent ad potestatem ordinis episcopalis. So also Santi, tit. 28. n. 59. Cum ea quæ sunt ordinis episcopalis derivent a caractere quem proprium habet episcopus, nec habet communem cum capitulo, sequitur eadem non transire in vicarium capitularem.

§ Marchetti, part ii. tit. 24, n. 11. Ea quæ sunt ordinis episcopalis non transeunt in capitulum, sede vacante, seu illius vicarium, nisi quoad potestatem illa commitendi alteri episcopo vicino.

|| Ripa de Interdictis. Refr. xi. n. 13. Nemo enim habet seipsum obligatum, quia actio et passio non cadit in eodem subjecto.

¶ De Temporibus Ordin. in vi^{to} c. Cum nullus.

letters dimissory. In the widowed diocese the clerks are the subjects not of the bishop, but of the vicar, though they be one and the same person. The vicar capitular being a bishop is under the disabilities of the canons which disqualify him for intermeddling in the administration of another diocese as bishop, and though he has the jurisdiction as vicar he has no jurisdiction over himself, and cannot give himself licence to do under one designation that which under another is unlawful for him. It is his superior only who can give him the liberty he needs. This may be made clear by reference to the Bishop of Durham in former times. No priest may be a judge "*in causa sanguinis*," and no bishop also. Now a priest made Bishop of Durham was the sovereign judge in all causes civil and criminal within the bishopric, and if he did not in person hold his courts, he appointed the judges, who rendered justice in his name. He could, if so minded, sit in his courts, and dispense justice himself, but being an ecclesiastic he could not sentence a criminal to death, not for want of jurisdiction, but because the ecclesiastical law which forbade him was binding on him even before he became a bishop. Nor could he dispense with himself, and say that the whole jurisdiction was his, and that he would use it. The negative precept bound him always and everywhere.

Thus it was with all the bishops, who being lords of Parliament were members of the highest court in England, with jurisdiction over all the subjects of the crown even in causes of blood. But when the peers and lords of parliament sat in judgment the bishops withdrew, for they were bound by the ecclesiastical law before they became lords of parliament; and notwithstanding their baronies they could not be judges in causes of blood. It was thus also with the peers themselves; if any ecclesiastic succeeded to a peerage he could not sit with his brother peers when the question was one of life or death, the prohibition bound him in spite of his peerage.

Bishops who are subject to the Congregation de Propaganda Fide are forbidden by a decree of Innocent X. to pontificate in a church not their own, even with the licence of the ordinary, if they are not either vicars apostolic or administrators.* In 1852 the English bishops obtained the relaxation of the decree in their

* Verricelli, de Apostolicis Missionibus, Qn. 229. Sanctissimus Dominus Noster decrevit, scilicet, quod episcopi Sacre Congregationi de propaganda fide subordinati non possint exercere pontificalia in aliis præterquam in propriis ecclesiis, etiam si esset de consensu ordinariorum, sub pena suspensionis ipso facto incurrendæ, ac eidem Pontifici reservatæ, dummodo a præfata Sacra Congregatione non sint in certo loco destinati vicarii apostolici, seu administratores alicujus ecclesiæ deputati. See also Pignatelli. Consult. Canon. tom. ii. cons. 1, n. 5.

favour, and it is lawful now for them—nothing is said of the titular bishops—to pontificate out of their own diocese, but with the licence of the ordinary.

Ventriglia, unlike Leurenus, gave no reasons for his opinion, holding it, as it seemed, on the authority of Barbosa, who may perhaps be regarded as the first doctor who taught it. But it is possible to call this in question, and say with some probability that Barbosa never held the doctrine. These are his words:—

Succedit capitulum, sede vacante, in jus exercendi pontificalia,—ut ordines conferendi, chrisma conficiendi, consecrandi basilicas et hujusmodi: sed hæc quidem non canonici ipsi per se, sed per vicarios episcopos faciunt. De Canonic. c. 42, n. 113.

Now, during the widowhood of the church, the chapter, after the appointment of the vicar, has nothing to do with the administration; that belongs to the vicar. So then, if the words of Barbosa are to be taken literally, they mean this, the vicar succeeds to these rights, but must not use them; he must have recourse to bishops who represent him or who are his vicars, or vicars of the chapter. Barbosa observant of the doctrine universally admitted that the chapter does not succeed the bishop in those things which flow from the sacrament of order, plainly declares that none of the canons may meddle with them, and that the chapter having the right to exercise them must not itself use that right; it must have recourse to the services of other bishops. That is the way in which the widowed church may be helped.

Besides the chapter cannot have more than one vicar, nor can it always find a bishop for that office, still less find bishops as vicars. It is just possible that "vicarios episcopos" is an error of the printer for "vicinos episcopos." But be that as it may, the words of Barbosa are not clear enough for the purpose of Ventriglia, because they can be so easily understood in the contrary sense, and perhaps the contrary sense is their true sense.

If it be that the vicar of the chapter, being a bishop, can do all that is thus assigned to him, he differs but slightly from a diocesan bishop, and the chapter has the right to appoint substantially the bishop without reference to the Holy See. The faithful in general will not be able to discern the difference, and they may easily be led to believe that the chapter can make a bishop of its own authority. That risk of error would be still greater if the bishop-vicar should be afterwards made the bishop of the diocese, because the act of the Holy See would be obscured under these conditions, for there would be hardly at all any visible transfer of the jurisdiction.

The civil power has more than once, and in more than one

country, laid a snare in this matter for the simplicity of the faithful. On the vacancy of the see, and after the chapter has appointed the vicar, the civil power, having the privilege of presentation, has persuaded the chapter to deprive the vicar, and put the candidate for the bishopric in his place. This was nothing less than a fraud, for the bishop elect or nominate, obtained thereby the episcopal jurisdiction without the consent of the Holy See. This practice was always unlawful, but human ingenuity believed itself capable of doing the wrong without incurring the penalty. The controversy, if ever it deserved that name, has been ended; for Pius IX. in the Bull "*Romanus Pontifex*," Aug. 28, 1873, has declared that the word "elect" in the canon *Avaritæ* comprehends both nomination and presentation. Thus the whole doctrine has received sanction and confirmation, which held that the word "elect" was far more extensive in its meaning than was allowed by those who confined it to the person of him whom the chapter chose by its suffrages in the act known as election formally made according to certain rules.

The word election comprehends postulation, nomination, and presentation, because the effect of all is one and the same.* Postulation may be made of a person who cannot be elected, such as the bishop of another see or a layman, or one labouring under some other conditions which make election impossible. Nomination is of one or more, and presentation is the act of a recognized patron, or of one to whom the Pope has granted the equivalent privilege. All these acts come within the meaning of the word election, for they are perfect acts only when the sovereign Pontiff has ratified or confirmed them, and then the bishop, whatever may have been the process by which he obtains the distinction, is by the act of the Pope, elect, and comes under the canons which prescribe his duties and define his powers.

Now it is possible that the vicar capitular may be proposed as the bishop. The chapter may elect him or nominate him, or the civil power having the privilege may present him. That is lawful for the Chapter and for the State, and the vicar is then in the condition of the bishop elect, whom the chapter against law admits as vicar. The difference between them is that they came to their offices by different ways; one lawfully, the latter against law. It is not doubted that the elect, if made vicar after his election, cannot administer the diocese; he is a usurper if he interferes in its affairs, but it is maintained that the vicar capitular if elected or presented, may continue to administer, and that the canons by which the bishop elect is forbidden to

* Fagnan. De Postulatione, c. *Bonæ memoriæ*.

meddle with the jurisdiction of the widowed church, are not to be understood as of force under these conditions.

Santi* maintains that all the prohibitions are directed against the bishop elect who after his election becomes vicar, and that they do not concern the vicar who is elected bishop. They relate according to him to the person who has no right to the jurisdiction, except that which the election supplies. The vicar capitular though elected or presented may administer, because he is in possession of the jurisdiction already, and does not claim it as an effect of the election; if this can be safely held, the mischief which the Popes would not tolerate, if done in one way, may be done lawfully in another way.

The learned professor maintains that the law of Innocent III.,† does not reach a vicar capitular, and that it concerns only a stranger who may be elected bishop. The Pope said that a bishop elect meddling with the jurisdiction before confirmation does wrong, and that his acts are nullities. Nothing is said about the way in which he became bishop elect, nothing about the election being his only title to interfere. The Pope forbids the elect before confirmation to meddle with the jurisdiction, and that prohibition surely reaches the vicar as certainly as the stranger. The offence is usurping the jurisdiction, not by any one, but by the bishop elect, and the vicar, if elected, is as much elect, neither more nor less, than the stranger to the diocese whom the professor admits comes under the canon.

The Pope forbids the bishop elect to meddle with the jurisdiction before the confirmation of the election; he does not except a vicar capitular, who, if he continues in his office after his election, is most clearly a bishop elect meddling with the jurisdiction before the confirmation, which is the act by which the Pope gives him the bishopric to administer. If it be said that the vicar continues to govern as vicar, and does not govern as bishop, he must face this difficulty. If he governs amiss, and deserves punishment, the chastisement will fall upon the bishop as certainly as upon the vicar.

The fraudulent usurpation of the jurisdiction by bishops elect was checked by Gregory X.‡ Bishops elected to a vacant see

* Prælect. Jur. Can. lib. i. tit. 28, n. 68. At dicendum est hæc loca jurisdictionem sese referre ad casum vicarii capitularis qui prosequatur administrationem dioeceseos; bene vero respicere extraneos electos, qui vi tantummodo electionis ante canonicam confirmationem præsumant jurisdictionem sibi arrogare.

† De Electione, c. *Qualiter*. Verum quoniam electus a vobis ante confirmationem administrationi episcopatus se irreverenter immiscuit, &c.

‡ De Electione, in vi^{to} c. *Avaritiæ*. Ut nullus de cætero administrationem dignitatis, ad quam electus est, priusquam celebrata de ipso electio

had persuaded the chapters to make them vicars before the election could be confirmed by the Pope, and then governed the see as vicars.

The Pope put an end to this abuse, and made it unlawful for any bishop elect to meddle with the affairs of the diocese in any way before the proper time. That decree of Gregory not only forbids the bishop elect to accept the office of vicar, but goes further, it forbids the vicar, being in office, to continue the administration. The words are "*gerere vel recipere*." That is, he must neither accept the jurisdiction, nor continue to administer if in possession when elected. In every way the bishop elect is forbidden to administer the church over which he is to be placed; he must not meddle with it in his own right as bishop elect, nor again may he do so under another name, for he is still the bishop elect, and cannot divest himself of the dignity. That being so, there arises the question, What is the vicar to do if he is elected bishop? The answer seems to be that he must cease to be vicar: that is the opinion of Dr. Hermes who, in the sixth chapter* of the book before us, discusses calmly and learnedly that matter; and it is a very grave matter besides, for, according to his teaching, the vicar is really without jurisdiction, and his acts are nullities.†

That is the conclusion also of Sanguinetti,‡ professor of canon law in the Gregorian University, and of an older canonist, Passerini;§ but enough has been said to justify doubts concerning the safety of the opinion held by Professor Santi.

Again, the canon "*Injunctæ*" cannot be reconciled with the opinion of the learned professor. In that canon, Boniface VIII. forbids the chapter to allow the bishop to administer the see before he produces his bulls. But if the vicar and the bishop be one and the same person, they cannot obey the canon; the vicar may continue to administer as vicar, and yet he is the

confirmatus, sub œconomatus vel procurationis nomine, aut alio de novo quæsito colore, in spiritualibus vel temporalibus, per se, vel per alium, pro parte vel in totum gerere vel recipere, aut illis se immiscere præsumat.

* *Inde vero necessario sequitur vicarium jam constitutum, si dein in ejusdem ecclesiæ episcopum eligatur vel nominetur, illico munus vicarii dimittere debere.*

† *Ibid.* Si vero nihilominus episcopus electus seu nominatus, manifestis ecclesiæ prohibitionibus spretis, in vicarium capitularem eligeretur, vel si vicarius capitularis, statem ac in episcopum electus vel nominatus esset, vicarii munere non abdicaret, actus jurisdictionis ab illis positi, prorsus essent invalidi et irriti.

‡ *Juris Eccles. Inst., lib. i. tit. 13.* Si vero ipse vicarius capitularis rite deputatus dein episcopus nominatur videtur per se teneri ad munus illico abdicandum nisi peculiarem habeat illud retinendi facultatem.

§ *De Electione Canonica, c. xxxiii. n. 4.* Statim ab electione cessare debet ab exercitio administrationis Œconomix.

bishop. The chapter may know that the vicar is the bishop, that he has had his bulls, and is in possession of the see, but the canons cannot interfere with the vicar, because the jurisdiction of the vicar does not end till the chapter has seen the bulls. If the bishop administers as the bishop his acts are nullities; if being the bishop, and in possession of the bulls or even of knowledge that he has been appointed bishop of the see, he commits a fraud, and usurps a jurisdiction which he has not, though it has not come to an end in so far as it concerns the chapter. Whether the bishop be elected or presented it matters not, for the Papal provision makes the vicar bishop, and that has all the effects of election and confirmation.*

Cardinal Soglia† says clearly that the vicar capitular cannot be the future bishop, and he gives for his opinion the very same reasons that moved Pius VII., whom he quotes, to give them in his letter to Monsignor Corboli, and which Pius IX. has confirmed as being the true sense of the canon of Trent. If it be said that the Pope when he makes the vicar the bishop, dispenses with the observance of the canon, that may remove the difficulty, and the vicar is not bound to resign when he learns that the vacant see is to be entrusted to him as its bishop. On the other hand, it is not clear that the provision is a dispensation, and it may be said with equal certainty that the sovereign Pontiff does not mean to dispense under the circumstances, and that the vicar is expected to observe the law and cease from the execution of his office. It is not necessary he should continue to hold the office, for the law has provided for his resignation or withdrawal during the vacancy.

The declarations of Pius VII., which Pius IX. confirmed, are to this effect, that according to the decree of Trent the vicar capitular ought not to be the person about to be raised to the vacant see, that he must be a person clearly distinct from the future bishop.‡

The vicar capitular is bound to account to the bishop, as soon as the bishop shall have taken possession, for all his acts during the vacancy, if he has been the only vicar; or if he succeeded a former vicar, for the acts of his own administration, and the bishop is also on his part bound to demand that account; but that is made impossible if the vicar, if made the bishop, remains vicar till he presents his bulls to the chapter. The decree of the

* Parisius Prax. Beneficia. lib. vii. c. 23, n. 49. Provisio Apostolica habet vim electionis et confirmationis.

† Institut. Jur. Privat. Eccles. s. 23. Vacantis ecclesiæ vicarius esse nequit qui futurus est ejusdem ecclesiæ episcopus.

‡ Zanboni, *ut supra*. Officalem ipsum capitularem personam ab episcopo promovendo plane distinctam esse oportere.

council requires that account to be demanded and given, and accordingly Pius VII. says that the bishop is commanded to exact an account from those who administered the see during the vacancy of the offices, jurisdiction and administration, and to punish for any delinquency* that may have been committed. So grave is this duty of the incoming bishop that Monacell† says it is a grievous sin to fail in it knowingly.

Before the Reformation, as the schism is called, there was no possibility of this, for the chapters appointed no vicars, and the commissaries of the archbishop who administered the see in his name were accountable to him. The new bishop must accept the see as he found it; he could not call upon the king's officers to account for the waste and dilapidations they had committed, for they were the officers of the king, who would defend his acts by brute force if necessary. He could not call upon the officers of the archbishop, nor upon the archbishop, to account for the exercise of an immemorial right, as the archbishop was his superior. It would in practice be worse for him if he appealed to the Pope, for though he could get justice in his court, he could not get protection against the many vexations to which he might, and most probably would, be subjected, for calling the conduct of the archbishop in question.

After the schism there were no vicars again, for there were no chapters, and the country, so long as it was under the rule of vicars apostolic, could have no vicars capitular, because by order of the Pope the vicar general of the deceased vicar apostolic became the administrator of the diocese, and he might well plead, that he was not bound to account to the new vicar apostolic, because he was not vicar capitular, nor appointed by any chapter, and therefore outside the provisions of Trent, having been made the administrator of the vicariate by the Pope himself. When the old sees were suppressed in 1850 and the new sees were created, then with the bishops came in chapters, but in one respect, unlike the old chapters, they have only one dignitary and with the chapters came in the vicars capitular, officers probably unknown in England from the days of St. Joseph of Arimathea to our own. The Holy See has not given them the privilege of

* *Ibid.* Cum ad eandem ecclesiam vacantem promotus fuerit, rationem ab eis exigere jubetur [episcopus] officiorum jurisdictionis administrationis . . . eoque punire qui delinquerint.

† *Formularii*, 3, par. form 41. Hunc autem syndicatum episcopus facere non omittat, nec reputet hanc omissionem esse levem, quia Conc. Trid. c. 16, sess. 24, non consulit seu hortatur episcopum, ut recipiat rationem administrationis officii a vicario, et aliis officialibus capituli, sed ei præcipit et imperat, illis verbis "rationem exigat," et per consequens episcopus scienter omittens id facere contra præceptum concilii non est immunis a culpa mortali.

electing the bishop, but has allowed them to nominate and present three persons, in their judgment endowed with the gifts and graces which are necessary for the government of the church in which they are placed, as models of the ecclesiastical life—the venerable senate which the bishop is required to consult on the different cases which from time to time arise, and for which he must provide the remedy, and not they.

D. L.

ART. V.—"THE HOLY HELPERS"—SS. BLAISE AND ERASMUS.

IN the Church's Calendar may be found inscribed the names of fourteen Saints who have long been associated in popular devotion, more particularly in Germany, as the "Fourteen Holy Helpers," the "Noth-Helfer"—Helpers-in-Need. Why they have been thus associated it would be probably impossible now to discover; but they have been long and confidently invoked in all necessities, both spiritual and temporal—particularly the latter—each of them being a protector against some form of earthly affliction. The Saints thus curiously selected by popular devotion are all of them martyrs of the early persecutions, and the record of their lives is contained in those "legenda," the joy of pious meditation in ages of simpler faith, many of the marvellous details of which are in this century—not indeed by Christians—disbelieved as impossible (but what *is* "impossible" to God's power on the one hand, or even to man's persecuting malice on the other?), and frequently set aside very carefully as only "legends" and not "history." It may be, however, interesting, if nothing more than merely interesting, to sketch briefly the careers of these saintly "Helpers," and the *cultus* of which they have for so many centuries been the object.*

* This mention of the "Helpers" reminds us of the beautiful frontispiece to the "Catholic Home Almanac" for 1889, noticed by us in January last (New York, &c., Benziger Bros.). It is an oleograph illumination of high excellence as to execution, in which the fourteen Saints are artistically drawn and grouped. A brief biography of each is also given in the text. Devotion to these Saints is intensifying and spreading among the Catholics of the United States of America; as witness also one of their newspapers giving, with the approval of the Bishop, the form of the "Blessing of St. Blaise"—used in throat affections—for the benefit of "the clergy who may not have it in their

The fourteen "Helpers" are generally distributed, two and two, in the following order:—

St. Blaise and St. Erasmus.	St. Pantaleon and St. Acacius.
St. George and St. Eustace.	St. Denis of Paris and St. Margaret.
St. Vitus and St. Christopher.	St. Catherine and St. Barbara.
St. Giles and St. Cyriacus.	

The present paper will be occupied with the first-named pair, both of them Bishops and martyrs in the tenth general persecution.

1. St. Blasius, Biagio, or Blaise, a popular Saint in England, France, Germany, and Italy, whose feast falls on the 3rd of February, was Bishop of Sebaste, in Armenia, and was martyred in the persecution of Licinius, A.D. 316, by command of Agricolaus, Governor of Cappadocia and lesser Armenia. Some writers, however, hold that he suffered under Diocletian in A.D. 289. The

Rituals." It may be well to add it here; the rubric explains the peculiar way of applying the candles.

BENEDICTIO CANDELARUM.

IN FESTO SANCTI BLASII EPISC. ET MARTYR.

V. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R. Qui fecit cælum et terram.

V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat:

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

OREMUS.

Omnipotens et mitissime Deus, qui omnium mundi rerum diversitates, solo Verbo creasti, et ad hominum reformationem, illud idem Verbum, per quod facta sunt omnia, incarnari voluisti: qui magnus es, et immensus, terribilis atque laudabilis, ac faciens mirabilia; pro cujus fidei confessione gloriosus Martyr et Pontifex Blasius, diversorum tormentorum genera non pavescens, martyrii palmam feliciter est adeptus: quique eidem inter cæteras gratias, hanc prærogativam contulisti, ut quoscumque gutturis morbos tua virtute curaret; Majestatem tuam suppliciter exoramus, ut non inspectu reatus nostri sed ejus placatus meritis et precibus, hanc ceræ creaturam bene+dicere, ac sanctificare tua venerabili pietate digneris, tuam gratiam infundendo, ut omnes, quorum colla, per eam ex bona fide tacta fuerint, a quocumque gutturis morbo ipsius passionis meritis liberentur, et in Ecclesia sancta tua sani et hilares, tibi gratiarum referant actiones, laudentque nomen tuum gloriosum, quod est benedictum in sæcula sæculorum. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. R. Amen.

Aspergantur aqua benedicta.

Deinde Sacerdos terminata Missa, deposita Casula, et Manipulo, accensis duobus cereis, ac in modum Crucis aptatis, apponens illos sub mento gutturi cujusvis benedicendorum, ipsis ante Altare genuflectentibus dicat:

Per intercessionem Sancti Blasii Episcopi et Martyris, liberet te Deus a malo gutturis et a quolibet alio malo. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

Acts of St. Eustratius, martyred in the reign of that Emperor, and honoured on the 13th of December, tell us that St. Blaise, Bishop of Sebaste, honourably received his relics, deposited them with the relics of St. Orestes, his fellow-martyr,* and punctually executed every article of the last will and testament of St. Eustratius. The modern Greek Acts of St. Blaise are of little authority. The generally received legend, culled from Jacobus a Voragine and other sources, runs: that after he had, as Bishop of Sebaste, ruled his flock for many years with great vigilance, the persecution under Diocletian obliged him to flight, and he took refuge on a mountain named Argea, where he dwelt in a cave, and was fed by birds, which came in crowds to bring him his food, and departed not from him until he had extended his hand on them in blessing, and healed any of them that were ailing. This mountain was likewise the haunt of wild beasts, lions and tigers, which animals were so completely subdued by the gentleness and piety of the aged Saint, that, far from harming him, they came every morning to ask his blessing; and whenever they found him kneeling at his devotions they waited patiently until he had finished, and then retired, having received the accustomed benediction. Now, in the city and province of Sebaste so many Christians suffered martyrdom, that there began to be a scarcity of wild beasts for the amphitheatres; and Agricolaus, the Governor of Cappadocia, sent his hunters into the mountains to collect as many lions, bears and tigers as they could. It happened that these hunters arriving one day before the mouth of the cave wherein St. Blaise had taken refuge, found him seated in front of it, surrounded by animals of different kinds; the lion and the lamb, the hind and the leopard standing amicably together. And some the Saint blessed with holy words, knowing that God careth for all things that He hath made; to others that were sick and wounded he ministered gently, and others finally he reprehended for their rapacity and gluttony. When the hunters beheld this, they stood like men in a dream, and marvelled, thinking they had found some enchanter. On recovering from their astonishment they hastened to make report to Agricolaus, who ordered them to return and apprehend the man. St. Blaise had that same night been favoured by three apparitions of our Lord, bidding him, "Rise, and offer me sacrifice;" and when the soldiers came he saluted them with, "Welcome, my children. I see that the Lord has not forgotten me;" and he went with them, rejoicing greatly and giving thanks to God, that at length he had been found worthy to die for the cause of Christ. On the

* Their remains now repose beneath the High Altar of the Church of S. Appollinare, Rome.

journey they met a poor woman, whose only child had swallowed a fish-bone, which had stuck in his throat, so that he was on the point of being choked; and seeing the Bishop, the mother fell weeping at his feet, saying, "O servant of Christ, have pity on me;" and he, being moved with compassion, laid his hand upon the throat of the child and prayed, and the boy was healed and he restored him to his mother; at the same time he besought our Lord that all those who, being similarly afflicted, should recommend themselves to His intercession might recover; and, continues the legend, "since the death of the holy martyr, many persons suffering in the throat have been healed by the merits of the saintly Bishop. And let not heretics declare this a newly invented doctrine, since Actius of Amida, on the Tigris, a Greek physician, of the close of the sixth century, author of the '*Tetrabiblos*,' a vast compilation embodying all the erudition of anterior medical celebrities, in the list of remedies for throat disease, lays special stress upon the invocation of St. Blasius."

On the same journey they found a poor woman, whose only worldly wealth, a pig, had been carried off by a wolf. She recommended herself to St. Blaise, and he, who had obtained power over all savage beasts, smilingly bade her be of good cheer, that her pig should be restored to her; and immediately the wolf, at the Saint's command, brought back the animal, unharmed. When the Saint, at last, appeared before the tribunal, the cruel Agricolaus ordered him to be scourged and cast into a dungeon, without food; but the poor widow, whose pig he had saved, having, meanwhile, providentially killed it, brought him a portion thereof, cooked, together with a candle, some bread, and some fruit, so that he did not perish; but giving thanks, he ate. After which he said to the woman: "Offer, yearly, to some church a candle in my name; whosoever shall do so, shall be greatly advantaged thereby." And he blessed her: and thenceforth all things prospered with her. Being brought a second time before the Governor, he first had his flesh torn with iron combs, such as are used to card wool, during which seven pious women wiped up the blood which flowed from his wounds, receiving the crown of martyrdom in reward of their faith and charity. The good Bishop, after enduring manifold frightful tortures, was finally beheaded, in company with two little children, whose mother was one of the seven holy women previously put to death. A pious woman, named Hélisea, gave the three bodies sepulture on the very site of their martyrdom, whence, during the Crusades, the relics of St. Blaise were dispersed over the West, and veneration for him propagated by many miraculous cures, especially of sore throats. His name, says Butler, is mentioned in the ancient Western Martyrologies of St. Jerome, Ado and Usuard, and in

still more antique MSS. Martyrologies, quoted by Chatelain, in which his festival is placed at February 15th. In the Greek Church his feast is of obligation, and is celebrated on the 11th of February.

In Germany, the feast of St. Blaise is known as "The Mass of Blaise," or "The Mass of Wind," the word "Blas," in German, signifying equally the name Blase or "Wind." Hence it arose, that in ancient calendars, February 3 is marked with a hunting horn. Formerly, Scandinavian mariners avoided pronouncing the name of this feast, and to this day Danish peasants look upon the winds blowing on that day as prognostic of tempests throughout the year. In France, the Saint's cult is widely spread, and many churches boast of possessing relics of him. He has been venerated *ab immemorabili* in the diocese of Toul, where several churches are dedicated in his honour, and many towns bear his name in the diocese of St. Die; the celebrated Priory of Variville, of the order of Fontevrault, diocese of Beauvais, and other religious houses possess his relics, of which we find mention in an inventory of that of the ancient Abbey of Vergaville, in 1640. In the fifteenth century, the collegiate church of Vic, then belonging to the diocese of Metz, venerated a piece of the skull of St. Blaise, which fragment, verified February 28, 1805, by the then Bishop of Nancy, "is remarkably thick, brown in colour, and about eleven centimetres in size," says the *procès verbal*. In the church of St. Eucharius, at Metz, where are likewise to be found some relics of St. Blaise, yearly, on his feast, office begins at 5 A.M., High Mass is sung at 8 A.M., during which they bless a great quantity of loaves, which are distributed for ten miles round, and are religiously preserved from one year to another. These loaves are called the "Loaves of St. Blaise."

In Rome, a similar ceremony takes place on this Saint's feast, which is celebrated with great pomp, in St. Biagio della Pagnotta, in the Via Giulia, the national church of the Armenians, to whom it was conceded by Gregory XVI. in 1832. Mass is pontificated according to the Armenian rite, and is followed by distribution, to those present, of small rolls of blessed bread, in form of Roman loaves, or *pagnotte* (hence the name of the church), in remembrance of the bread brought him by the poor woman when in prison. At San Biagio dei Matherassari (woolcombers), St. Lucia dei Sinnasi, San Biagio della Fossa, or delli Pettini, so called from its frescoes of the martyrdom of the Saint, and at other churches, throats are blessed by a priest, who holds two blessed candles, crossed, over the throat, which is besides anointed with oil from the lamp that burns before the picture of the holy martyr. St. Charles Borromeo likewise instituted this custom in the church of Milan. In S. Carlo ai

Cattinari, which occupies the former site of the church known as *S. Biagio degli Arcarii*, or *de Anulo*, because of the Episcopal ring of the Saint preserved therein, this blessing is performed with the very throat-bone of the Saint, enclosed in a reliquary, popularly styled "the ring of St. Blasius." Amid the numerous churches, dedicated under his invocation, were three parish churches:—*S. Biagio sub Capitolio*, now bearing the title of Blessed Ritea *da Cascia*, and *S. Biagio alle Calcere*, now *S. Nicolo a Cesarini*, both of which parishes are now merged in that of *San Marco*; the third parish church, that of *San Biagio della Fossa*, was suppressed by Benedict XIII., in 1695, and its revenues divided between the churches of *S. Lorenzo in Damaso*, now a parish, and *SS. Simone e Guida*.

In England, where three churches are dedicated to his honour, St. Blaise still keeps his place in the reformed calendar. Brand relates that Minshew, in his Dictionary, under the word "Hocketide," speaks of "St. Blaze his Day, about Candlemass, when country women goe about and make good cheere; and if they find any of their neighbor women a spinning that day, they burne and make a blaze of fire of the distaffs, and thereof called *S. Blaze his Day*." Percy, in his "Notes to the Northumberland Household Book," tells us: "The anniversary of St. Blasius is the 3rd of February, when it is still the custom in many parts of England to light up fires on the hills on St. Blayse night; a custom anciently taken up, perhaps, for no better reason than the jingling resemblance of his name to the word blaze." "Call upon God, and remember St. Blaze," is the charm given by Scott, in his "Discovery of Witchcraft" (1665), "that will fetch a thorn out of any place of one's body, or a bone out of the throat." Whilst Naogeorgus gives the following:—

Then followeth good Sir Blaze, who doth a waxen candell give,
And holy water to his men, whereby they safely live.
I, divers barrells off have seene, drawne out of water cleare,
Through one small blessed bone of this same martyr heare:
And caryed thence to other townes and cities farre away,
Ech superstition doth require such earnest kinde of play.*

This is interesting as showing the universality of the legend of St. Blaise, who is specially honoured in Yorkshire as the patron and protector of woolcombers and woolstaplers, and is still commemorated in the town of Bradford by a festival, held every

* "*Regnum Papisticum*" (1555, 8vo). The author, Thomas Kirchmaier, a Protestant satirist of the sixteenth century, born 1511, early embraced the heresy of Luther, and, like most of the scholars of his time, changed his name to *Nao-Georgos*, two Greek words which have the like signification. He died 1563.

seven years, wherein, writes Mrs. Jameson, "Prince Jason, Princess Medea, Bishop Blaise and his chaplain all walk together in grand procession." At Norwich his feast is kept with a solemn guild by the woolcombers, who regard him as the inventor of their trade, either from the iron combs, or cards, wherewith he was tortured, or by reason of his country, since it seems that the first branch, or at least hint, of this manufacture was borrowed from the most remote parts of the East, as was also that of silk-weaving. In Paris, beside the woolcarders and weavers, the builders and stonecutters, the latter because of a tool, known as a scraper, which they use, and which resembles a card, consider St. Blaise as their patron. He is also invoked against wild beasts, against whooping-cough, in all diseases of the throat, against the goitre, and on behalf of the porcine race, greatly subject to quinsy. In Russia he is invoked, not only in favour of swine, but for all cattle in general. St. Francis of Sales had great confidence in the intervention of St. Blaise in cases of throat diseases. St. Blaise is also a patron saint of the cities of Cosimo in Sicily, of Naples, and of Civita di Penne, in that kingdom; also of Mulhausen in Thuringia, and of Ragusa in Dalmatia,—on coins of which he appears as a bishop, with cope and mitre, holding in one hand a crosier, in the other an iron comb or woolcard, his peculiar emblem. The other emblems of St. Blaise are a candle, or a swine's head at his feet, in memory of the food brought him by the woman whose pig he had saved from the jaws of the wolf; or birds bringing him nourishment. Lastly, he is not unfrequently represented surrounded by wild beasts; and he is generally drawn in full episcopal costume. Pictures of St. Blaise are rarely met with; "the martyrdom of S. Biagio," by Carlo Maratti, in the Carignano Gallery at Genoa, is perhaps the best representation of the scene. In allusion to the "pious women," mentioned in the legend, one or two female figures are generally introduced in paintings of the martyrdom of St. Blaise. The three churches, dedicated in his honour in England, are Milton in Berks, St. Blazey in Cornwall, and Flacombe in Devon; Boxgrove, in Sussex, is dedicated, conjointly, in honour of St. Mary and St. Blaise. The Saint is likewise invoked against the sin of gluttony.

2. St. Erasmus, whose name in Greek signifies "Amiable," is popularly known as St. Elmo or St. Ermes. He was, according to some authors, like his companion St. Blaise, of episcopal rank, and martyred under the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 303, at Formia, now Mola di Gaeta, about sixty-six miles from Naples. His legend tells us that because of the persecution he had retired to a hermitage, on Mount Libanus, in Syria, to implore the Divine mercy on behalf of the suffering Church, and

that there he wrought many miracles; angels descended from heaven to minister to his wants; the most savage wild beasts flocked round him to do his bidding; and a raven brought him his daily food. He frequently quitted his solitude to visit the city of Antioch, of which he was Bishop, and was there seized by order of the tyrant Diocletian, who had him cruelly beaten with loaded whips, scourged with rods, and then cast into a cauldron filled with seething pitch, tar, sulphur and wax; whence, however, he issued scathless, to the confusion of the pagans, numbers of whom were converted on the spot. Finally he was thrown into a dungeon, to perish from hunger, but was that same night delivered by an angel, who guided him to Lucinum, a city of Apulia, the inhabitants whereof he converted to the faith. This fact reaching the ears of the cruel Maximian, he hastened thither, summoned Erasmus to his tribunal, and on his refusal to worship the idols, ordered him to be clad in a red-hot iron cuirass, and afterwards plunged in a cauldron of boiling oil, lead and resin, neither of which torments could in anywise harm him. He was anew cast into prison, and again released by the intervention of an angel, who freed him from his chains, led him to the seashore, where a bark awaited them; they entered and were conveyed to Formia, a town of Campania, near Gaeta, where he continued his Apostolic ministry with remarkable success, gaining numbers of souls to Christ. Still he was pursued by the imperial barbarian, at whose command—so the marvellous legend continues—a frightful torture was invented. The Saint was cut open, his entrails well soaped, and drawn out by means of a windlass or species of wheel, such as is used to wind off skeins of wool or silk; but by the miraculous disposition of the Almighty he survived even this torment; and some time later, whilst absorbed in prayer, he heard a voice saying: "Erasmus, good and faithful servant, because thou hast fought the good fight, come and receive the crown which I have prepared for thee." He raised his eyes, and in fact perceived a most precious crown, which was presented him by angels; whereupon bowing his head, he exclaimed: "Lord, receive my spirit;" and uttering these words, his soul escaped from his body, under the form of a dove of shining whiteness; it was surrounded by a troop of celestial beings and accompanied to the Eternal Presence. Baronius places the death of this holy Bishop in the year 301 A.D. St. Gregory the Great testified that he was buried in the Cathedral Church of Formia, where his remains still lay in the sixth century; but after the destruction of that city by the Saracens, in the ninth century, they were transferred to Gaeta (842), where he is still held in high veneration.

St. Benedict, the Patriarch of Western Monasticism, had so tender a devotion to St. Erasmus, that he built two celebrated mon-

asteries with churches under his invocation, one in Monte Soratte, now St. Oreste, thirty miles from Rome, a second Thebais in its time; the other within the precincts of the Eternal City, on the Cœlian Hill, near the site of the present Church of St. Stefano Rotondo. This famous monastery, some few vestiges of which are still to be seen, was one of the most ancient and important in Rome, renowned for its strict religious discipline and for the learning and sanctity of its monks, one of whom was Deusdedit, Cardinal Priest, and later elected Pope, April 22, 672, under the name of Adeodatus II. He confirmed to the Venetian nobles, by Apostolic authority, the right of election and institution of their Doge, a convincing proof of the antiquity of that Republic; and he was the first Pope to adopt the formula, now common to the letters of the Sovereign Pontiff: "Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem." This monastery was the scene of popular tumult after the death of Pope John V., 686, caused by the partisans of the two Antipopes, Peter and Theodore, but which was finally quelled by the election of Pope Conon, some two months later. This same monastery of St. Erasmus was, in 799, the prison of Pope St. Leo III. who was conveyed thither from the church of St. Sylvester *in Capite*, by the rebel priests, Pascal and Campulus, who after horribly mutilating and tearing out the eyes and tongue of the holy Pontiff, kept him there in close captivity, until he was rescued by the faithful, led by his devoted chamberlain Albinus. All the contemporary authors attest the wonderful cure of Pope Leo, who miraculously recovered the use of his eyes and tongue. The martyrdom of St. Erasmus forms the subject of one of the series of thirty-two frescoes, by Nicola Pomarancio (sixteenth century) still to be seen in the Church of St. Stefano Rotondo, on the Cœlian.

St. Erasmus, under the name of Sant' Elmo, a corruption of S. Eramo, or S. Ermo, is famous on the shores of the Mediterranean, in Calabria, in Sicily, and throughout Italy, where sailors invoke him against storms, tempests, and other perils of the sea. Visitors to Naples will remember the celebrated monastery and fortress, known as "Castel Sant' Elmo," styled in the fourteenth century Sant' Erasmo, from a chapel dedicated to that Saint, which then crowned the summit of the hill. The origin of the name *Ermo*, says Murray, has occasioned much controversy; some writers derive it from the *Ermoë*, said to have stood on the spot to mark the division of the territories of Neapolis and Puteoli; others from St. Antelmo, one of the founders of the Carthusian order.* This castle was built by

* St. Anthelmus, VIIth General of the Carthusian order, and Bishop of Bellay in 1163. He is honoured in the Roman Martyrology, June 26.

King Robert the Wise, in 1342, after the designs of the architect, Giacomo de Sanctis. The royal commission to the grand chamberlain, Giovanni di Flaya, to construct a fortified palace on this hill, still exists. It was rebuilt as it now stands, from the plans of Luigi Scriva, by Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, in 1540, to which some slight additions were made in 1641 by the Duke of Medina. The abbreviation "St. Elmo" for "Ermo" is generally applied by all Italians to St. Erasmus, who is invoked under that title by sailors in the Mediterranean; whilst the Spaniards and Portuguese have transferred the name of "St. Elmo" or "St. Telmo" to one of their Saints, St. Peter Gonzales, of the order of St. Dominic, who is likewise patron of sailors, whom he was wont to seek out on their vessels, and amid whom he finished his mortal career in 1246, on April 15, on which day his feast falls.

Peter the Deacon declares that Pope Gelasius II., while yet a monk at Monte Cassino, wrote the life of St. Erasmus. St. Gregory the Great and other ancient writers speak of him as Bishop of Formia, where he suffered martyrdom, but add no particulars of his life nor of his death; whence the Bollandists opine that the Acts of St. Erasmus have been interpolated, and many facts assigned to him which rightly belong to other saints. He is commemorated in the new Paris Breviary, and a portion of his relics is possessed by a nunnery near Gournay, in the diocese, much resorted to by pilgrims. In Rome his relics may be venerated in the Basilica of St. Maria Maggiore, and in the churches of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, and of St. Maria *in Campo Santo*. In the Basilica of St. Peter, above the altar dedicated to St. Erasmus, in the right transept is a copy, in mosaic, of the martyrdom of the Saint, by Nicholas Poussin, the original of which is in the picture gallery of the Vatican. This picture, executed by command of Pope Urban VIII., is the largest historical subject ever painted by Poussin, and in point of expression is said to be one of his best works: the head of St. Erasmus, at once agonized and full of resignation and heavenly faith, is pronounced a masterpiece.

St. Erasmus is the special patron of seafaring men in general, on account of his miraculous voyage to Italy, under the guidance of the angel. He is represented as an aged man clad as a bishop, holding in his hand a windlass, his special emblem; he is thus represented on a rood screen at Hempstead, on a font at Buckenham, and on a window at Sandringham in England; but sometimes he is surrounded with other emblems of his martyrdom. Again, as St. Elmo, patron of sailors, he is pictured walking upon the sea, holding a taper or flame in the palm of his hand, which flame represents St. Elmo's fire—the

name, as is well known, given by sailors to the electric light that appears on mastheads and yard-arms when the sea is calm and the sky propitious, or plays round the horizon at the close of a storm—hence St. Elmo's, St. Helen's, or Fernes' fire, as it is variously styled, is a good omen. Sometimes this flame is depicted on the head of the Saint.

ELLA B. EDES.

ART. VI.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASS.

1. *Messe und Pascha*. Von Prof. Dr. G. BICKELL. Mainz. 1872.
2. *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*. Prof. Dr. F. PROBST. Tübingen. 1870.
3. *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. By C. E. HAMMOND, M.A., Lecturer at Exeter College. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1878.
4. *The Greek Liturgies*, chiefly from Original Authorities. Edited by C. A. SWAINSON, D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity, Cambridge. At the University Press, Cambridge. 1884.

I LATELY endeavoured, in this REVIEW, to give an account of the bearing of modern research on the early history of the Catholic Rule of Faith and of the Apostles' Creed. No subject could be more important, for it is the groundwork of our belief; but I now venture to approach one incomparably more sacred. The chastisement of Oza is a terrible warning which must be ever in the minds of those who would touch the Ark of the Covenant, even to support it, with unconsecrated hands; while the origin of the Christian Liturgy is withdrawn from a rash and curious scrutiny, not merely by its own sanctity, but also by the obscurity in which it would seem to have been providentially veiled. Like that mysterious type of the Christian priesthood, whom the Church commemorates in the most solemn moment of the Mass, the Liturgy comes before us, as Melchisedec appears in Holy Writ, with no visible parentage nor beginning of days, so that these can only be traced by careful and laborious investigation. The chief work in this direction has of course been done by Catholic scholars in the past—Bona, Le Brun, Muratori, and Mabillon being only a few of the most eminent among liturgiolo-

gists. The most important recent authors, too, are Catholics; Bickell and Probst, whose names I have placed at the head of this article, are admitted by all to be the chief authorities on the subject in our generation. Besides these, it is a special pleasure to welcome so many Anglican High Churchmen as fellow-labourers with us in this field. I shall have occasion to point out details in which they seem to me mistaken, for I think the exigencies of their position have led them to strain the documentary evidence for a primitive Liturgy beyond what it will bear. I therefore all the more gladly acknowledge their zeal and industry, and the valuable additions they have made to our knowledge of the Liturgy. These have been insufficiently known to Catholics, and one of my principal objects is to direct attention to their labours. The earliest and most important of these works is probably Sir W. Palmer's "*Origines Liturgicæ*"; next to it we may reckon Archdeacon Freeman's "*Principles of Divine Service*" and Scudamore's "*Notitia Eucharistica*," though both these latter suffer from the disadvantage of attempting to show the primitive character of the Anglican service. A like drawback diminishes the value of Dr. Neale's liturgical writings; he entertained too strong an opinion of the antiquity of the extant Greek Liturgies, and overlooked facts which were adverse to his theory.

Perhaps the most valuable work done by Anglicans has been the preparation of texts in a form convenient for study. Dr. Neale's editions of the Eastern Liturgies, in Greek and in English, are well known. Mr. Hammond has laid all students of liturgiology under even greater obligations by his handy and inexpensive volume which has been published by the Clarendon Press, and which contains all the offices which had to be sought before in many rare and costly works. The first critical edition of the Eastern Liturgies comes to us from the sister university of Cambridge, which has published Dr. Swainson's careful reconstruction of the text of the Oriental Liturgies, based upon a complete collation of all the Greek MSS. known to exist.

The field thus opened and rendered accessible to every student is far too extensive for these pages, and for the patience of the general reader, even if I possessed the learning and the leisure needed for treating it properly. I purpose merely to point out the main conclusions to which the study of the Liturgy has led, and the directions which further inquiry must take. It will be seen from what I shall say that fresh discoveries, and those of a very interesting character, will probably reward the investigator who starts with a knowledge of the present state of liturgiology. For instance, it is almost certain that a minute examination of the early Fathers would yield many more liturgical allusions than

even Probst's careful search disclosed. Again, recent discoveries have introduced a fresh series of liturgical problems. Thus the newly recovered portions of St. Clement of Rome's letter seem to bear such testimony to the primitive existence of the liturgy of St. Mark, and also that of the Church of Rome, as to call for a fresh examination of the great Alexandrian writers. In a less degree the Didache raises some fresh questions, several of which I have already noticed in these pages.

It is obvious that any inquiry into the early history of the Holy Sacrifice must start from its original institution at the Last Supper. I believe the only important attempt which has been made to show the connection between the two is due to Professor Bickell, the learned Catholic Orientalist of Innsbruck. It is contained in the pamphlet I have referred to in the heading of this article, and has been further developed in several papers in a German Catholic periodical (*Zeitschrift für kath. Theol.*, 1880). His suggestions have been received with marked interest and assent by Anglicans, such as Mr. Hammond and Mr. Field, the learned author of "The Apostolical Liturgy and the Epistle to the Hebrews"; but, so far as I know, they have attracted no notice from Catholics in this country. It is particularly unfortunate that Dr. Edersheim, the only Englishman perhaps who was qualified to express an independent opinion on Bickell's work, should have only mentioned it in a manner which shows he cannot have read it.*

Professor Bickell begins by dividing the Mass into two naturally distinct parts—the Anaphora, or sacrificial office proper, and the pro-anaphoral or preparatory service. This division is not quite the same as that between the "Missa Catechumenorum" and "Missa Fidelium," which was due to the discipline of the Early Church: since the Anaphora begins with the Preface, while the Missa Fidelium commences at the Offertory. He derives the earlier part of the Liturgy from the Sabbath-morning service of the Synagogue; and the Anaphora from the Paschal ritual of the Jewish Church. Beginning with the latter, I omit designedly all the perplexing questions that may be raised as to our Lord's having eaten the Passover at the Last Supper; for, whether it was or was not the legal Pasch, our Lord Himself spoke of it as "this Passover," and it must therefore have been closely connected with the Paschal service. I must give Bickell's account of this at some length, which I the less regret, as I believe there is no such description of it accessible to English readers. He gives first his reasons for asserting that the Paschal ritual, as given in the Talmud, represents faithfully that followed

* "The Life and Times of the Messiah," vol. ii. p. 510.

in our Lord's day, excepting a few points which can be readily discerned. The chief external argument on which he relies is, that the schools of Shammai and Hillel had already begun to dispute about details in the second century; while the very complexity of the ritual in the Mishna is an internal evidence of its antiquity. It is to be remembered that the Paschal lamb was a true sacrifice; it was slain in the Temple, its blood was sprinkled by the priest on the altar, and part was burned there. As these conditions could not be fulfilled after the destruction of the Temple, an essential change was made in the ceremony, which I shall mention as I proceed. The meal began by each guest filling his cup with wine, which, in the case of this as of all the following cups, was mixed with water. A prayer named the "Kiddush" was then recited: this thanks God for the institution of all holy seasons, particularly of the Passover; also for having preserved those present until that hour. The cup was then drunk, and hands were washed for the first time. Before the destruction of the Temple, the Paschal viands were next brought in; now they are on the table from the beginning. In place of the Paschal lamb a third unleavened bread is now taken, besides the two previously used; this is broken in half, and one of the halves is reserved, being therefore called the "Afikoman," to be eaten at the end of the repast instead of the lamb. Dr. Edersheim suggests that our Lord anticipated what was to be the rule after the destruction of the Temple; and that the "Afikoman" was the bread which he consecrated. We should expect some mention of this departure from the established order of the Passover in the Gospels if this had been done by our Lord; instead of which the absence of an article before the word *ἄρτον* in St. Mark, and probably also in St. Matthew, implies that no special bread was used for the Holy Eucharist. However this may be, I cannot forbear pointing out how significant it is that the Jews should have chosen bread as the symbol to take the place of the Paschal lamb. One would be glad to know whether this was a rule introduced during the Babylonian Captivity, but I am not aware of any information on the subject.

After several ceremonies of minor importance, the table was removed, and the second cup was mixed. The youngest person present then asked: "Why is this night different from all other nights?" The master of the house answered by reciting Deut. vi. 21.: "We were bondmen of Pharaoh in Egypt, and the Lord brought us out with a strong hand." From this as a text, he proceeded to describe the history of the Jewish people, from the call of Abraham to the delivery from bondage, dwelling in detail on the plagues of Egypt, and the blessings conferred on the people of God. This commemoration, called the "Haggada,"

was considered to be commanded in several passages of the law,* there can therefore be little doubt that it was observed by our Lord. The table was then set back in its place, and the symbolical meaning of the viands explained. The cup was elevated, while a short thanksgiving was said, after which the first part of the "Hallel" was sung,† and the cup was drunk.

The master of the house then washed his hands again, took one of the unleavened breads, broke it (a rite which seems to have been peculiar to the Paschal supper), placed it under the whole one, elevated both, pronounced the ordinary blessing said over bread at meals, ate a portion of both the whole and the broken bread, and passed them to the guests. The bitter herbs, Chagigah, and Paschal lamb were then eaten, followed by the usual supper, the last food partaken of being a portion of the lamb, in place of which the reserved bread is now eaten.

The hands were now washed again, and the third cup was mixed; over it was said the grace after meals, containing two thanksgiving for food and all other benefits. After grace this cup was drunk.

The fourth cup was mixed, and the second part of the "Hallel" (Ps. cxiii. 9 to cxvii., "Non nobis" to "Confitemini Domino") recited: probably followed by a benediction. Then was said what is called the "Great Hallel" (Ps. cxxxv., "Confitemini Domino"), followed by a long hymn of praise and thanksgiving; the blessing over the wine was said, and the fourth cup was drunk. Grace was not said after this cup, as it was not considered part of the meal, but a benediction was pronounced, in which God was thanked for the fruit of the vine and the gift of the promised land. A fifth cup is spoken of by some later authors, but not by the Talmud.

This very brief sketch of the Paschal ritual will enable us to appreciate Dr. Bickell's view as to the relation between it and the Mass. The principal question is: when was the Holy Eucharist consecrated, whether during or after the meal, and if the former, at what point in the repast? The general opinion of the older Catholic commentators has been that the Host was consecrated during the supper, and the Chalice after; St. Thomas,

* Exod. xii. 26, xiii. 6; Deut. vi. 20. It may seem remarkable that there is no direct mention of this touching ceremony in the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper. Indirectly, however, it is twice referred to in St. Paul's narrative of the commemorative Sacrifice of the New Law. The emphatic phrase, *eis τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*—"for my memorial"—points to a memorial which was not of Christ; and *καταγγέλετε* is the literal translation of the Hebrew word *Haggada*.

† Ps. cxii.-cxiii. 8, "Laudate pueri" and "In exitu" to "Non nobis." I use throughout the Septuagint-Vulgate arrangement.

for instance, gives a mystical reason for this separation between the two consecrations.* This supposition was based on the words "as they were eating" (ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν) in St. Matthew's and St. Mark's accounts. This note of time is, however, not sufficient for us to rely on, as is plain from its being also used for the prophecy of the betrayal, which St. Luke puts later. St. Luke and St. Paul have no note of time for the consecration of the Host, but they fix that of the Chalice after supper; and, as Father Coleridge argues, it is hardly conceivable that the two consecrations should have been separated. It is therefore much more probable that the Host was also consecrated after the supper, as indeed the highest patristic authority asserts.† The language of St. Luke and St. Paul might apply either to the third or fourth cup taken at the Paschal ceremony; though strictly speaking the former formed part of the supper. The general tendency has been to connect it with the third cup; Schegg and Haneberg, for instance, among Catholics, and Edersheim among non-Catholics, expressly saying so. The only ground for this is, that the Rabbis called this cup "the cup of blessing," the phrase used by St. Paul for the Chalice. The expression, however, seems merely to have meant the cup taken at the grace after meals, was used for any cup that was drunk with thanksgiving, and was even employed metaphorically:‡ so that no argument can be based upon it. Bickell, on the contrary, urges that the third cup was part of the supper, and, indeed, was common to all ordinary meals, while the fourth was peculiar to the Passover. It was therefore more likely to have been employed by our Lord, and it conforms more closely to the words "after supper" in St. Luke and St. Paul. Dr. Bickell's explanation of the order of the institution starts from this. He points out that at the ordinary Paschal meal each guest drank from his own cup, and that on filling the fourth cup our Lord must have said, "Drink ye all of this," and "Take this and divide it among yourselves," as a necessary preparation for passing round the cup. He was about to consecrate. On looking back to the account given above of the Paschal ritual, it will be seen that part of the Hallel was recited after the fourth cup was filled. Bickell supposes that the Preface of the Mass is the slightly modified form of the last

* "Christus corpus suum tradidit inter coenam, sed sanguinem suum dedit expresse post coenam. Cujus ratio est, quia corpus Christi repræsentat mysterium incarnationis, quæ facta est legalibus observantiis adhuc statum habentibus; sed sanguis in sacramento directe repræsentat passionem, per quam est effusus, et per quam sunt terminata omnia legalia" (1 Cor. xi. lect. 6).

† St. Jerome, lib. iv. in Matth. cap. 26.

‡ Ps. cxvi. 3; Smith's "Bible Dictionary," s. v. Passover.

Psalm (cxvii.) of this series. The resemblance is seen to be greater when we learn from the Talmudic commentaries on the Psalm the manner in which it was recited. In each of the first four verses the first half was said by the celebrant, the second half by the assistants. These correspond to the versicles and responses which precede the Preface; the body of which answers in turn to the next twenty verses, which were said alternately. The twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth verses were again broken up like the first four; it will be remarked that they contain the "Hosanna" and "Benedictus," in which the congregation join after the Preface. The remaining verses were recited alternately, like the central portion. After a short prayer, this was followed by the "Great Hallel" (Ps. cxxxv.), the first half of each verse being recited by the celebrant, and the burden, "for His mercy endureth for ever," repeated by the assistants. This corresponds to the commemoration of the work of redemption, which follows the Preface in the Clementine and other ancient Liturgies, the redemption taking the place of the delivery from Egypt. On arriving at verse twenty-five ("Who giveth food to all flesh"), Bickell suggests that our Lord stopped, consecrated the Host and Chalice, broke the former first into halves, then into portions for distribution, and passed round the Chalice.

The Babylonian Gemara, a very early authority, states that Psalm xxiii. ("Dominus regit me") was sung after the Great Hallel. Its appropriateness after Communion makes it probable that this was the "hymn" mentioned by the first two Evangelists as sung by our Lord and the Apostles before they went out to the Mount of Olives.

We will now go back to the earlier part of the Mass, which, as I have said, Bickell derives from the Sabbath-morning service of the Synagogue. This part of the Mass has, for reasons which will by-and-by appear, undergone more change than the Canon. The general reader will, however, obtain a sufficiently accurate notion of the primitive form of this part of the Roman Liturgy for purposes of comparison, from the Good Friday Mass of the Presanctified, as far as the Adoration of the Cross.* The Sabbath-morning service consisted of four parts, of which we have only to consider the last and most important. It began with a varying lesson from the Pentateuch, followed by another from the Prophets. The Christian Church inserted a psalm after each lesson, and some portion of our Lord's life, at first orally, then by a reading from the Gospels; the sermon followed in the

* This earliest form of the Roman Mass is really closer to the Synagogal service than the Oriental Liturgies that Bickell chooses for comparison, though there are points of difference which I shall note as I proceed.

Jewish as in the Christian service.* After the sermon came a series of prayers termed the "Shacharith." These corresponded very closely with the intercessory prayers that follow the Gospel on Good Friday. The several petitions were "bidden" in the Synagogue by a precentor, as in the Christian Church by a deacon. The Shacharith began with prayer for the whole Jewish people, for their rulers, and for the Rabbis; then went on to intercede for the congregation and its members, for those who had built synagogues or brought gifts for religious purposes; then for the sick; for the Sovereign. Lastly, there was a commemoration of the martyrs and a prayer for the dead. This was followed by part of the prayer called the "Shemoneh Esreh," or Eighteen Benedictions, of which only the first three and the last two were used on Sabbaths. The parallelism between the contents of the Shacharith and the Good Friday intercessory prayers will be obvious. A still more distinct connection can be established between one of them and the Sabbath portion of the Shemoneh Esreh, which has been shown independently of Dr. Bickell, and seems to me a crucial test of the correctness of his theory. Since he wrote, the liturgical passage in St. Clement of Rome's letter has been recovered, and Dr. Lightfoot† at once pointed out its connection with this Jewish prayer on the one hand and with the petitions in the Liturgy of St. Mark on the other. I shall hereafter show that these portions of the Alexandrian Liturgy are the Good Friday prayers to which I have been referring, and that there is good reason for believing they were used by the Church of Rome at least as early as Tertullian.‡

After the third benediction of the Shemoneh Esreh was inserted a prayer named the "Kedusha," which is strikingly like the conclusion of the Preface and the Sanctus. The precentor said, "May we hallow Thy Name on earth as it is hallowed in heaven; as it hath been written by Thy prophets, the one cried out to the other and said." The congregation responded, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of His majesty." It will be remarked that this does not correspond in place to the Preface, which we have connected above with Psalm cxvii.; but its present position in the Jewish service is also incongruous, occurring as it does in the middle of the Bene-

* There is an interesting description of this part of the Jewish service in Acts xiii. 14, 15. St. Paul and his companions had sat down in the Synagogue on a Sabbath, and, "after the reading of the Law and the Prophets," the rulers sent to ask them to address the congregation.

† "St. Clement of Rome." Appendix, p. 461.

‡ The prayer which corresponds to the Shemoneh Esreh is that for all necessities ("cunctis mundum purget erroribus"), and what would be otherwise anomalous in its occurrence here is fully accounted for by its origin.

dictions. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose it originally came later in the Sabbath-morning office. Before the last petition of the Shemoneh Esreh, if a priest was present he pronounced the Aaronic benediction with uplifted and outstretched hands over the congregation. The Christian priesthood on succeeding to the Jewish used originally the same form here, as we find in the earliest account extant,* which puts the Aaronic benediction at this point of the Liturgy. It was soon replaced in the East by 2 Cor. xiii. 13, or an equivalent form, while in the Roman and Alexandrian Masses the sacerdotal blessing is put after the Communion.

The last prayer of the Shemoneh Esreh is a petition for peace; and in all liturgies except the Roman the celebrant's benediction is followed by the prayer for peace and the "Pax."

I have now brought down the comparison between the Jewish and Christian services as far as the Anaphora, from which it will be remembered I started, to compare this latter part of the Mass with the Paschal Liturgy. My account of Dr. Bickell's attempt to trace the origin of the Mass in the services of the Jewish Church has been necessarily so abridged as to be inadequate. I can only hope that any one who looks upon it sceptically, as I did at first, will follow the details in the author's own writings, where the evidence will be found much more convincingly stated than I have been able to do within my limits. It may appear antecedently very improbable that the Mass should have been derived from two separate Jewish offices. But it is to be borne in mind, that the distinction between the two parts of the Liturgy, still discernible enough, particularly in a Pontifical Mass, was much more marked in early ages. There is even reason to believe that in Egypt the introductory part was used on certain days as a separate service. The theory does not account for the "*Sursum corda*," which is found in every Liturgy, and which we must therefore suppose to be primitive; and several passages need transposition, such as the "*Sanctus*," but with these exceptions it seems to fulfil all that can be looked for in an hypothesis which is to connect the Mass with the ritual used in the time of our Lord. As far as I know only one other suggestion has been made on this subject. Archdeacon Freeman supposed that the Last Supper was not a Paschal meal, but one on the previous evening; and he derived the whole Liturgy from the synagogal Sabbath-eve service, which is said on Friday evening after the office for the day is finished, combined with a domestic rite the same evening, which commemorates the Passover at the ordinary meal. The resemblance is however more remote,

* "*Constit. Apost.*," ii. 57.

and the whole is based, not on the Talmud and other ancient authorities, but upon a modern Jewish prayer-book, in which prayers originally public may have been diverted to private use.

I now turn to another branch of my subject, to inquire what traces of a liturgical service are to be found in the New Testament. It is hardly fanciful to suppose that, in the first mention of the meetings of Christians for prayer after the day of Pentecost, we have a distinct enumeration of the several parts of the Liturgy. In Acts ii. 42, we are told that they were persevering "in the teaching of the Apostles, and the communion; in the breaking of the bread and the prayers." This, which appears to be the connection of the words in the best-established texts, separates the service into two parts, the preparatory service, consisting of the Apostolic teaching and the Agape (for so apparently we must understand *τῇ κοινωνίᾳ*); and the breaking of the Eucharistic bread with its attendant prayers. It is to be remarked also that the articles* imply a series of acts which St. Luke knew would be recognized by his readers. Probably the Mass was said daily, though the "day by day" of verse 46 may possibly refer to the attendance in the Temple only, and not to "the breaking bread at home." In the phrase "praising God" of verse 47, we have the first indication of the Eucharistic character of the rite.

It would be too great a digression to consider the gradual omission of the Agape, which lingered in the African Church as late as St. Augustine's day on Maundy Thursday. It will be interesting to us to remark that the last instance of its permission is in England, where St. Gregory ("Ep." ii. 76) allowed it on the feast of the dedication of a church.

That the oral teaching of the Apostles was soon replaced by the reading of their Epistles, is clear from St. Paul's directions less than twenty years later (1 Thess. v. 27; Col. iv. 16). We also find him enjoining public reading as one of the chief duties of a bishop; the Apocalypse is professedly intended for public reading, and at the end a blessing is invoked on the reader and the hearers of the prophecy. As Christians usually—if not always—assembled to celebrate the Holy Eucharist, we must suppose, with Bona, that such readings formed part of the service. We are confirmed in this belief by the benedictions, which occur so frequently in the Epistles. These are Eucharistic in character, and, as Freeman points out, are often preceded by two other liturgical formulas—the words of peace, and the kiss of peace—always in the order in which they occur in the Liturgies. Probst points out that most probably the outpourings of the

* ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ; τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

Charismata of tongues and prophecy took the place, upon occasion, of the lessons from the Old Testament and the Apostolic letters. If this be so we may gather some interesting details concerning the first part of the Mass from the rules laid down by St. Paul for the Charismata (1 Cor. xiv.). Unbelievers were allowed to be present (verse 16), the congregation sat during this part of the service (verse 30), there were only two or three lessons (verses 27, 29).

In like manner we get glimpses from the Epistles of other parts of the Liturgy. The Eucharistic prayer seems to be referred to, with the people's response, when St. Paul says, "through Him is the Amen unto the glory of God through us" (2 Cor. i. 20). He orders intercessory prayer for rulers and all in authority, and on the other occasions commends himself to the prayers of the faithful. The men of the congregation were to pray with outstretched hands (1 Tim. ii. 8), as is still directed by the deacon at the consecration in the Liturgy of St. Mark; they were to have their heads uncovered, while women were to be veiled (1 Cor. xi.). The kiss of peace is prescribed in the earliest Epistle (1 Thess. v. 25, 26), and placed after the prayer, this being its liturgical position in the time of St. Justin.

For an account of the external ceremonial of the Mass, we must turn to the Apocalypse. The description of heaven in the fourth chapter of that book corresponds in so many points with the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice, that we cannot suppose the resemblance to be accidental. The faithful, at any rate, of a hundred years later, when they heard this passage read in church, would recognize all the chief features of the Mass at which they were going to assist. The bishop, seated on his throne at the end of the church, in the midst of his twenty-four white-robed presbyters; the lamps burning before the divine presence; the chant of the "Sanctus," begun by the mysterious living creatures, and taken up by the elders; the Eucharistic praises for the blessings of creation and redemption, were all common to the figure before them, and the reality beyond their sight. If any doubt had remained in their minds, the descent into their midst of the central figure, the Lamb, standing as it were slain, showed that the type and the antitype were identical. It is, indeed, certain that much of the ritual was moulded on this description; but unless the ceremonies described already existed in the Christian service, their significance would have been lost upon the disciples of St. John.

One other point has to be considered, under the head of the relation of the Liturgy to the New Testament. There are a certain number of passages which are verbally the same in the Epistles and in the Liturgies. Dr. J. M. Neale argued, with

much learning, that in all such cases the latter are the source from which St. Paul is quoting; and he has been followed in this opinion by Mr. Moultrie and other Anglican writers. It is, of course, not antecedently impossible; for it is well-known that in several places St. Paul quotes hymns and prayers, so that if a Liturgy had been already drawn up in a fixed shape we should expect to find such traces of it. The direct evidence in favour of this view is, however, exceedingly scanty, and quite inadequate to overcome the improbability, that a fixed Liturgy should have existed before the Pauline Epistles were written. Dr. Neale relies mainly on the quotation in 1 Cor. ii. 9; a passage, any way, of acknowledged difficulty. In the Epistle the quotation begins with a relative, *ἃ*, which has no grammatical antecedent; whereas in the Liturgy of St. James it occurs in the prayer of the Great Oblation, regularly connected with the immediately preceding word, *δωρήματα*. This is practically the only ground for supposing that the Apostle is quoting the Liturgy, for the other arguments adduced are answers to objections either made or anticipated. To most critics the very smoothness of connection, as the passage stands in the Liturgy, would be a reason for thinking it the later form, on the well-known principle, "*ardua lectio præstat faciliori*." Beyond this, however, it is so abundantly clear that the Greek Liturgies as we have them now have undergone considerable and repeated alterations, that a verbal point of this kind is of no value.* Probst has already pointed out that this quotation is used by several of the Eastern Liturgies, in different parts of the service, as referring to the Blessed Sacrament; just as St. Justin took Isaiah xxxiii. 13-19, to refer to our Lord's presence in the Holy Eucharist.† Mr. Field has enlarged the scope of Dr. Neale's argument, and presented it in a form with which we shall be in less disagreement. While rejecting what he very justly calls Dr. Neale's "most unfortunate corollary," that in parallel passages St. Paul quotes the Liturgy, and not *vice versa*, he urges that the Epistles and the Apostolic Liturgy must have been written under the influence of the same ideas, and by persons familiar with the same language, derived from Old

* The following is a striking example of what I mean. Dr. Neale relied upon the *ἡμῖν* in the sentence, "as His Apostles and disciples," just before the words of institution, to prove the antiquity of the Liturgy of St. James. Dr. Swainson has, however, shown conclusively that this word is a sixteenth-century interpolation.

† "It is clear that he is speaking in this prophecy of the bread which our Christ directed us to consecrate . . . and of the cup which he directed us to consecrate with giving of thanks. . . . And that we shall see this very king in glory the same prophecy shows" ("Dial." c. 70). Origen's application of Matth. xi. 25, to the Blessed Sacrament is an even closer parallel.

Testament and current Jewish literature. As a principle, this will be easily admitted; but there is much in Mr. Field's application of it which I cannot accept. For instance, the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews is closely parallel to the Prayer of the Veil in the Liturgy of St. James; but it by no means follows that the latter is the original which the Apostle was imitating: the converse is far more probable.

The only positive evidence in the New Testament—St. Paul's language to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xi. 23, 34)—points away from any hypothesis of a fixed written Liturgy at that time, and implies that both the general principles of the Holy Sacrifice and the details of its celebration were communicated orally by the Apostles to the communities they founded, and supplemented as need arose. The same conclusion follows irresistibly from the local differences in detail, which we find at a very early period; for instance, between the Church of Alexandria and the other Orientals. The general framework was everywhere the same, and many of the details were identical. But there was sufficient variation in lesser points to make it incredible that the Apostles should have delivered to their disciples a Liturgy complete in all particulars and unalterable. It is, on the contrary, the fact that the Eucharistic service, both in the East and the West, underwent many more changes in the first few centuries than have been made since. The same Spirit which inspired the Apostles has never ceased to suggest to their successors the fittest means of honouring the Holy Sacrifice; so that every period has left its trace in the great central act of worship—the Mass. We, the fortunate heirs of all the ages, worship in a temple of which the foundations were laid under the older covenant, and which has been enriched by the piety and loving care of each succeeding generation. I shall endeavour to show, in a subsequent paper, how these changes produced the Mass as we now have it.

J. R. GASQUET.

ART. VII.--THE YOUTH OF MARY TUDOR.

THERE is nothing more curious about English history than the frequent contradiction which exists between contemporaneous evidence and the opinions of posterity. It has been generally supposed that events must have acquired some of the crust of age before they can be recorded fairly; that to be a dispassionate chronicler of facts a man must stand at a distance from the scene of conflict, and gain breadth of vision from the map-like nature of the dim distance. It has been argued that when no personal interest is felt in the game of politics, we are more likely to judge justly, to reason logically, to draw right inferences. Yet strange to say, the reverse of this is more often the case. Witness Hume's stinging invectives, Macaulay's brilliant and fascinating romances, Froude's seeming candour disguising violent partisanship, Green's pet theme of a sovereign people. To every page of history pure and simple, a mass of prejudice, private opinion, and foregone conclusion go to leaven the whole lump. And with every new discovery there are fresh points of view to be opened out, fresh motives to be attributed to leading characters, and thus the skein grows year by year more bewilderingly entangled. In the absence of keen political or sectarian bias there is a strong temptation to dramatize certain portions of our history, and the Tudors, no less than the Stuarts, have been treated with poetical rather than historical justice. This is especially the case with Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth. Henry's character has been represented in chameleon-like variety. Some count him a plain bluff man, others appraise him as a very Machiavelli;—he is pious, he is irreligious; he is a Catholic as to all but the Papacy, he is the patron saint of the Reformers; he is a man of exceedingly tender conscience, he is an abandoned *roué*; he is superior in intellect to either Charles V. or Francis I., he is the vainest of men, only fancying himself a match for them!

There are, again, certain readings of Mary and Elizabeth in vogue, and it is extremely unpopular to suggest any other. The time-honoured title of "Good Queen Bess" is almost as sacred as that of "Bloody Mary," although it is a now pretty generally admitted that the "good" requires some explanation and that before Elizabeth became queen she used to be called "Bold Eliza." English people are remarkably deficient in historical acumen. They are not perhaps greatly interested in the vexed questions of the past; certainly they are too often content to swallow their history whole. The wickedness of Mary Tudor is an article of their creed. Hume has not gone out of fashion;

nor the Mary that he created.* "Her obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny, and the complication of vices which entered into her composition,"† make a picture with which they are loth to part. She is to be allowed "no virtue but sincerity." With Wordsworth they say in their hearts—

We have a vision of our own,
Ah, why should we undo it?

Nearly sixty years ago, the learned Dr. (afterwards Sir Frederick) Madden, Assistant-Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, raised his voice to protest against the indiscriminate obloquy attached in this country to the name of Mary, Princess and Queen of England. Protestant though Dr. Madden was, he indignantly denied that history gave any authority for the terms "narrow-minded," "ill-conditioned," "gloomy bigot," and "Bloody Mary," with which she is associated.‡ As far as we are able to judge, his *Memoir*, frank and scholarly as it is, has not brightened the aspect under which Mary Tudor had come to be regarded in England.

Another and more recent publication,§ until lately existing only in manuscript, and the exclusive property of the Dormer family, contains a large amount of hitherto uncommunicated matter relating to the life and character of Queen Mary. The book, diffuse, awkwardly constructed, confused as to dates, is nevertheless invaluable, as coming from the pen of one who was undoubtedly a faithful eye-witness of Mary's patience under suffering, of her piety, her large-hearted charity, and of the liberality with which she treated her friends. The Duchess of Feria, the subject of the biography, was brought up in Mary's household, became her confidante and daily companion, and remained with her till her death.

Mr. Friedmann also, in his *Life of Anne Boleyn*,|| has much to say of Mary's attitude during the years of persecution which followed upon Queen Catherine's divorce, and his evidence is the more valuable from the fact of his approaching his subject in the spirit of a critic. He is neither a Catholic nor the champion of

* His "History of England" is still a class-book, and the standard by which candidates for matriculation at the London University are passed or plucked.

† Hume's "History of England," vol iv. p. 392.

‡ "Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary." Introductory Memoir by Frederick Madden, F.S.A. London, 1831.

§ "The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria," by Henry Clifford. Transcribed from the Ancient Manuscript in the possession of Lord Dormer by the late Canon E. E. Estcourt, and edited by the Rev. T. Stevenson, S.J. "Quarterly Series." London: Burns & Oates.

|| "Anne Boleyn, a Chapter of English History," vol. i. p. 20. Macmillan and Co., London, 1884.

any one in particular. Barring one perfectly gratuitous and glaringly false inference, he is careful not to "set down aught in malice," and from the wealth of material at his command, he has produced a book as fascinating as it is important. With regard to Mary's struggle in defence of her religion, the Council Book of Edward VI. furnishes us with a detailed history of the noble-spirited manner in which she defeated her enemies; the account of it being given by those enemies themselves. All contemporaneous evidence goes to prove that until she contracted her unhappy and ill-fated marriage with Philip of Spain, Mary Tudor was the most popular person in England, and popular, not only in the few short years of her prosperity, but the more especially when she was under a cloud of disgrace, and when it was no man's interest to befriend her. It must, then, necessarily have been that she possessed great and lovable qualities, that she claimed respect by her actions, and that those actions must have been grossly misrepresented by her defamers in Elizabeth's reign, so completely has she been uprooted from the hearts of the people.

If ever woman undeservedly suffered from insult and degradation [says Dr. Madden*], Mary did; and if ever woman cultivated in solitude and retirement the virtues of benevolence, charity, kindness, and unaffected piety, or adorned herself by the acquirement of such branches of science or art as tend to elevate and soften the mind, Mary was that one. These are not mere assertions, but are founded on the authority of existing documents and on the concessions of many of our latest and best informed writers. The judgment of men like Lodge, Turner, Ellis, and Singer may be sufficient of themselves to oppose the invectives of Rapin, Hume, Walpole, and Grainger.

One of the earliest accounts we have of the Princess Mary is contained in a letter from the Lords of the Council to her father, then in France, dated Westminster, June 13, 1520, before she was five years old. It runs as follows:—

Ascertaining your Highness, we were on Saturday last passed (9th) at your manoir of Richemounte, with your dearest daughter the Princesse, who, lauded bee Almighty God, is right mery and in prosperous helth and state, daily exercising herself in vertuous pastymes and occupacyons, whereof we sawe sum experience afore we departed from her.†

What these pastimes were like may be gathered from entries in two accounts of the Lady Mary's establishment in the year 1521, which include "the coste and charge layde owte and payde

* "Privy Purse Expenses," *Memoir*, p. xvii.

† Ellis's "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 175, First Series.

by John Thurgoode, Lord of Mysrule with the Princess' grace in Chrystmas tyme the xiiijth yere of the Reigne of Kynge Henry the VIIIth." The amusements necessitated—

Two taborets, a man who played the Friar, another who played the Shipman, a stock of visors, coat armour, hats, gold foil, cony skins and tails for mummers, four dozen of clatering staves, two dozen of morris pikes, twelve cross-bows, gunpowder and four gunners, frankincense, ten dozen of bells and nine morris coats, a hobby horse, straw to cover twelve men in a disguising, and a man to kill a calf behind a cloth.

In June 1522 the little Princess came to Greenwich, where the Court was assembled to receive the Emperor Charles V. It was during this visit to England that the Treaty of Windsor was signed, by which it was arranged, in the midst of feasting and pageants, that Henry should accord to the Emperor the hand of his young daughter.

"The Emperor," says the chronicler Hall, "had great joy to see the Queen his aunt, and in especiall his young cousin germain the Lady Mary." The biographer of Jane Dormer, alluding to the Princess, says that—

All the neighbour kings and princes did greatly desire her for marriage, James V., King of Scotland, after Charles the Emperor, offering presently to give the possession of the whole of the Low Countries; then the French King for both his sons, first for the Dauphin, then for the Duke of Orleans, whom when King Henry did not accept, for their tender age, King Francis offered himself to marry her. Such was the fame of her virtue and worth, in which, for particular reasons of State, none of them succeeded.

One of the obstacles which caused the overthrow of the projected alliance with Charles was a want of funds. Henry had undertaken to pay half of the little bride's portion of £80,000, to be expended at once on the Emperor's invasion of France, but when it came to the point the money was not forthcoming. A condition had also been made that Mary should be delivered over when she was twelve years old to be educated in Spain, until her union with her cousin. Henry had not objected to this clause being inserted in the treaty, but whether he was afterwards really unwilling to part with his daughter, or whether his reasons for keeping her under her mother's care were mere excuses to cover his parsimony, his answer to the Imperial ambassador, when summoned to fulfil this condition, is a tribute to Catherine's excellence.

"If," said the King, "he should seek a maistress for hyr, to frame her after the manner of Spayne, and of whom she might take example of virtue, he shulde not find in all Christendome a more mete

than she now hath, that is the Quene's grace, her mother, who is comen of this house of Spayne, and who for the affection she bereth the emperour, will norishe her and bring her up as may be hereafter to his most contentacion." *

Henry, mindful about this time of his Welsh descent, determined to reduce the Principality to a more strict obedience, for the greater safety of the realm at large. It was therefore determined by the King in council to send "our dearest, best beloved and only daughter the Princess, accompanied with an honourable, sad, discreet and expert counsaile to reside and remain in the Marches of Wales and the parties thereabouts, furnished with sufficient power and authority to hold Courts of *oyer and determiner*, for the better administration of justice."†

Mary was now about ten years of age, and was for the first time formally declared heiress to the Crown, and Princess of Wales, a tardy recognition of her rights; for Henry, in his passionate desire for a male successor, had imagined that it would be as easy to foist his illegitimate son, the Duke of Richmond, on the nation, as to introduce the novelty of a Queen regnant. Possibly Mary's immense popularity assured him that the latter experiment would not be as hazardous as he had imagined. The people were loyal to a man in acknowledging her, and by sending her to Wales he would have her trained in the art of kings. A new household was accordingly appointed, which besides councillors president, chamberlains, clerks, surveyors, and others learned in the law, was composed of the Countess of Salisbury as lady governess, of Catherine, Countess of Devon, of Dr. Wootton, dean of the chapel and physician, of Mr. John Featherstone, schoolmaster, and others, amounting in all to 304 persons. Directions were drawn up concerning the Council, and the governance of the Princess herself. The Countess of Salisbury was responsible for her education and training, for her health, recreation, and clothing. She was "to take open air in gardens, sweet and wholesome places and walks," and "everything about her was to be pure, sweet, clean and wholesome," while "all things noisome and displeasing were to be forborne and excluded." Great attention was to be paid to her food and to the manner in which it was served, with cheerful society, "comfortable, joyous and mery communication, in all honourable and virtuous manner."

All the children of Henry VIII. were distinguished for their learning, and Mary's proficiency in various branches of knowledge is attributed by Dr. Madden to the great care and diligence

* MS. Cott. Vesp. G. iij. f. 177.

† Harl. MS. 6807, fol. 3, quoted by Dr. Madden in *Memoir*, p. xxxix.

of Catherine of Arragon in the education of her daughter. Still, although the love of learning was, as it were, in the air people breathed, we should be doing Mary an injustice if we dismissed her literary attainments as not above the average of her contemporaries. Friedmann, while he admits Mary's learning, forms no great estimation of her intellect. It does not seem to strike him that it was no less remarkable in those days than now for a child of nine years to have mastered the difficulties of the Latin tongue. Moreover, the ladder of knowledge had not then been made easy, and the only grammars to be had were dry and abstruse, and anything but attractive. The list of Latin educational works proposed by Mary's preceptor, the celebrated Ludovicus Vives, and in which she soon began to delight, is startling from the gravity of the subjects embraced. Among these works were the Epistles of St. Jerome, the Dialogues of Plato—"particularly," says Dr. Madden, "those of a political turn"—Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Thomas, and others of a like nature.

Lord Morley, in the Preface to his book, "*A New Year's Angelical Salutation by Tho. Aquine*," presented to the Princess as a New Year's gift, mentions a translation of a prayer by St. Thomas which she had made.

I do well remember that skante ye were cum to xij yeres of age but that ye were so rype in the Latyn tongue, that rathe doth happen to the women sex, that your grace not only could perfectly rede, wright and construe Latyn, but farthermore translate eny harde thing of the Latyn in to our Inglysshe tongue, and among all other your most vertuous occupacions I have seen one prayer translated of your doinge of Sayncte Thomas Alquyne, that I do ensuer your grace is so well done, so near to the Latyn, that when I loke upon it, as I have one of the exemplars of yt, I have not only mervell at the doinge of yt, but further for the well doinge have set yt as well in my boke or bokes, as also in my pore wyfe's, your humble beadeswoman, and my chyldern, to gyve them occasion to remember to praye for your grace.

Dr. Madden gives this translation in an appendix to his volume, and it is of so much interest, as being Mary's own work, that we reproduce it here, venturing only, for greater convenience, to modernize the spelling.

The prayer of Saint Thomas of Aquin, translated out of Latin into English by the most excellent Princess Mary, daughter to the most high and mighty Prince and Princess, King Henry the VIII. and Queen Catherine, his wife, in the year of Our Lord 1527 and the eleventh year of her age.

O merciful God, grant me to covet with an ardent mind those things which may please Thee, to search them wisely, to know them

truly, and to fulfil them perfectly, to the laud and glory of Thy Name. Order my living, that I may do that which Thou requirest of me, and give me grace, that I may know it and have wit and power to do it, and that I may obtain those things which may be most convenient for my soul. Good Lord, make my way sure and straight to Thee, that I fail not between prosperity and adversity, but that in prosperous things I may give Thee thanks, and in adversity be patient, so that I be not lift up with the one, nor oppressed with the other, and that I may rejoice in nothing but in this which moveth me to Thee, nor be sorry for nothing but for those which draweth me from Thee; desiring to please nobody, nor fearing to displease any besides Thee. Lord, let all worldly things be vile to me, for Thee, and that all Thy things be dear to me, and Thou, Good Lord, most special above them all. Let me be weary with that joy which is without Thee, and let me desire nothing besides Thee. Let the labour delight me which is for Thee, and let all the rest weary me which is not in Thee. Make me to lift my heart oftentimes to Thee, and when I fall, make me to think and be sorry, with a steadfast purpose of amendment. My God, make me humble without feigning, merry without lightness, sad without mistrust, sober without dullness, fearing without despair, gentle without doubleness, trusting in Thee without presumption, telling my neighbour's faults without mocking, obedient without arguing, patient without grudging, and pure without corruption. My most loving Lord and God, give me a waking heart, that no curious thought withdraw me from Thee. Let it be so strong that no unworthy affection draw me backward, so stable that no tribulation break it, and so free that no election by violence make any change to it. My Lord God, grant me wit to know Thee, diligence to seek Thee, wisdom to find Thee, conversation to please Thee, continuance to look for Thee, and finally hope to embrace Thee, by penance here to be punished, and in our way to use Thy benefits by Thy grace, and in heaven through Thy glory to have delight in Thy joys and rewards. Amen.*

* The Latin original by St. Thomas of Aquin is as follows:

Oratio solita recitari singulo die ante imaginem Christi.

Concede mihi, misericors Deus, quæ tibi placita sunt ardentè concupiscere, prudenter investigare, veraciter agnoscere, et perfecte adimplere ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui. Ordina statum meum, et quod a me requiris ut faciam, tribue ut sciam; et da exequi sicut oportet et expedit animæ meæ. Da mihi Domine Deus meus, inter prospera et adversa non deficere, ut in illis non extollar et in istis non deprimar; de nullo gaudeam vel doleam nisi quod ducat ad te vel abducat a te. Nulli placere appetam vel displicere timeam nisi tibi. Vilescent mihi Domine omnia transitoria, et cara mihi sint omnia tua. Tædeat me gaudii quod est sine te, nec aliud cupiam quod est extra te. Delectet me Domine, labor qui est pro te; et tædiosa sit mihi omnis quies quæ est sine te. Frequenter da mihi, Domine, cor ad te dirigere, et in defectione mea cum emendationis proposito dolendo pensare. Fac me Domine Deus obedientem sine contradictione, pauperem sine defectione, castum sine corruptione, patientem sine murmuratione, humilem sine fictione, et hilarem sine dissolutione, tristem sine dejectione, maturum sine gravitate, agilem sine

Ludovicus Vives dedicated to the Princess Mary in 1524, two hundred and thirteen symbols, or short and intricate sentences in few words, commonly called mottoes, with paraphrases upon every one of them. The first one was "*Scopus Vitæ Christus*," and the last "*Mente Deo defixus*," and these, says the biographer of the Duchess of Feria, the Princess seemed to have in perpetual memory, by the practice of her whole life, "for she made Christ the beginning and end of all her actions, from whose goodness all things do proceed, and to whom all things do tend, having a most lively example in her virtuous mother."

Mary had not long to uphold the viceregal dignity in the Welsh Marches. State papers record her presence with the King at Amptill in September 1526; and in May of the following year she was at Greenwich, taking part in a banquet and mask, held in honour of the French ambassadors who had come to solicit her hand in marriage, for Francis the King, or either of his sons. This is the negotiation spoken of in the Dormer MS., chronicled by Hall, and mentioned in Dr. Madden's Introductory Memoir.

[In the course of the entertainment] out of a cave issued the Ladie Mary, daughter to the King, and with her seven ladies all apparelled in rich cloth of gold of tissue and crimson tinsel bendy, and their hairs wrapped in caulds of gold, with bonnets of crimson velvet on their heads, set full of pearl and stone; these eight ladies danced with the eight lords of the Mount.

The Bishop of Tarbes, one of the above-mentioned ambassadors, speaking afterwards of the Princess Mary to his royal master, extols her as "the Pearl of the World," and "the jewel that his Highness Henry VIII. esteemed more than anything on earth," adding that she was of such "beauty and virtue."

"I pray you repeat unto me none of these matters," interrupted the King. "I know well enow her education, her form, her fashion, her beauty and virtue, and what father and mother she

levitate, timentem te sine desperatione, veracem sine duplicitate, operantem bona sine præsumptione, proximum corripere sine elatione, ipsum ædificare verbo et exemplo sine simulatione. Da mihi, Domine Deus, cor pervigil quod nulla abducat a te curiosa cogitatio: da nobile, quod nulla deorsum trahat indigna affectio: da rectum, quod nulla seorsum obliquet sinistra intentio: da firmum, quod nulla frangat tribulatio: da liberum, quod nulla sibi vindicet violenta affectio. Largire mihi, Domine Deus meus, intellectum te cognoscentem, diligentiam te quærentem, sapientiam te invenientem, conversationem tibi placentem, perseverantiam fidenter te expectantem, et fiduciam te finaliter amplectentem, tuis pœnis hic affligi per poenitentiam, tuis beneficiis in via uti per gratiam, tuis gaudiis et præmiis in patria perfrui per gloriam. Qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

cometh of ; expedient and necessary it shall be for me and for my realm that I marry her ; and I assure you for the same cause I have as great a mind to her as ever I had to any woman." *

Nevertheless, Francis decided ultimately to keep his promise of marrying the Emperor's sister, and Mary was, by a treaty signed at Amiens in August 1527, solemnly affianced to the Duke of Orleans. This matrimonial scheme came also to an abrupt end, owing partly to the French King and his mother requiring the marriage to take place at once, so little did they trust Henry's word, seeing how he had failed to carry out his engagement with the Emperor. It is true that the projected union with the Duke of Orleans was unpopular in England, but its failure was chiefly due to Henry's pretended scruples on the subject of his own marriage with Mary's mother. Henceforth, Mary's fate was closely linked with that of the persecuted Queen, and the sorrows of Catherine of Arragon are inseparable from the wrongs inflicted on her daughter.

Friedmann has most ably treated the history of Henry's divorce, from the fatal moment of his becoming enamoured of Anne Boleyn, and the consequent birth of his hypocritical qualms. The whole machinery of the play is set forth in his book with great skill and patience, the archives of Europe having been ransacked in the interests of truth. We only regret that at the time the book was written, the Roman State Papers were not as accessible as they now are, but little is wanting to fill up the measure of Henry's iniquity, and the sufferings he inflicted ruthlessly on both his victims. Viewing the subject with the whole accumulated matter before him, the reader cannot but wonder that the thin disguise which Henry adopted should have been treated by Rome and the house of Spain with the extraordinary forbearance which he encountered. In the correspondence relating to imperial affairs, preserved in the Belgium Archives, some transcripts of which are contained in the Public Record Office in London, there is a Latin letter addressed by Charles V. to the English ambassador. In this letter he declares that the dispute about the King's marriage was of a nature only to be settled by the Holy See, to whom the King of England should have no more repugnance to confide the direction of his conscience than the rest of the Christian world, who set him the example, especially under circumstances, where all the proceedings were conducted in England, and bore a character of partiality which must render them suspicious to the Queen, his wife.

The ambassador was dissatisfied with this letter, and provoked

* Dr. Madden, *Introductory Memoir*, p. xlvii.

a categorical reply to his objections, in which Charles declares that, in the interests of his aunt, he will never suffer the cause to be tried anywhere but at Rome. A cause, he said, which tended to render the order of succession uncertain, threatening even to upset it altogether, a cause where the honour and conscience of the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and of the King of Portugal were concerned, could not be decided except before a tribunal, the authority of which was recognized by all parties. He exhorts the King in most affectionate terms to allow passion to be silent, and to listen in this matter to justice alone. Touching Henry's argument of the necessity of a male heir, the Emperor finds the question extremely *mal placée* when he has a legitimate daughter living, the rightful heiress of his States.

The question which Henry originally brought forward of the validity of his marriage is thus soon drowned in a sea of chicanery. The Pope summoned him to Rome, but he took care not to appear in person, alleging the delicacy of his conscience and the necessity of not leaving his kingdom to the disorder which would prevail in his absence. There was some ground for the latter pretext. The nation proclaimed loudly in favour of the injured Queen, and it needed the iron hand of the Tudor monarch to restrain a popular outburst. Present, he could enforce his will, however tyrannical that will might be, but the spirit of revolution was ready to assert itself whenever he should relax his grip on the necks of the people. Chapuis, the Imperial ambassador, in a letter to Charles dated May 14, 1531, wrote that when Catherine expressed a wish that Mary might come to Court—for the King kept mother and daughter apart—he received the request very badly, and answered that if Catherine wished to see her daughter she might go to the place where Mary was, and remain there as long as she liked.* This, says Friedmann, would have been the beginning of a separation, for although Henry lacked the courage to send his wife away, he would have found means to prevent her return, if she left. Catherine saw the snare, and meekly replied that for nobody in the world, would she leave his company. As long as Henry hoped for a favourable verdict at Rome, he was careful of appearances. Anne was sent away from Court, and he even ceased to correspond with her; but when he found himself deluded in his hopes, he threw away the mask and abandoned all diplomacy. Having recalled Anne, he banished the Queen, and they parted, never to meet again, on July 14, 1531. The Pope at once summoned him to take back his wife, and reinstate her in her rightful position till the ultimate decision of her cause. This

* Vienna Archives.

proving of no avail, he forbade the King to contract a second marriage, and in case it were already done, he annulled it, and declared its issue illegitimate.

Meanwhile Cranmer had been prevailed on to pronounce the divorce, had declared the Queen contumacious, by her refusal to appear at his tribunal, and Henry forbade all his subjects, by word of mouth or by writing, to give to his brother's widow the title of Queen. If the Court and the main body of the clergy were abject in their submission, the people far from approving the excess into which the King's blind passion had led him, blamed it openly. Warmly attached to Catherine, they were loudly indignant at the triumph of her rival. In the midst of the display of the coronation feasts, they insulted and reviled the pretended Queen—a remarkable instance of daring, in a reign during which the nation was accustomed to grovel under the caprices of a despot. Henry had caused their initials, H and A, to be interwoven in every imaginable device, but the people interpreted them derisively—ha! ha! ha!

The question of the divorce had been brought before the nation, and now the nation gave its verdict. At no time was Catherine received by the people with such demonstrations of love and loyalty. In July 1533 she was removed, by order of the King, from Amptill to Bagden, and on the way, great numbers of people flocked together to see her pass. Notwithstanding her escort, they loudly cheered her, calling out that she was still their Queen, and that they would always hold her to be so. And her popularity was shared by her daughter Mary, who, according to Anne, was treated in the villages through which she passed as if she were God Himself who had descended from heaven. Anne had been crowned, but the nation would not acknowledge her.*

Mary's disgrace was at its height at the birth of Elizabeth. She was shortly afterwards deprived of her title of Princess of Wales, which was conferred, as Chapuis has it, on "*la petite bâtarde*." Not content with taking away her birthright, the King, or perhaps Anne, was determined that she should renounce every outward semblance of State. Her household was broken up, and the Duke of Norfolk was sent to tell her that she would henceforth have to reside with the Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield. Mary stoutly refused to lay down her title, and signed a formal protest against the compulsion to which she was subjected, on her removal from her house Beaulieu, alias New Hall, in Essex. She then allowed them to take her away in a litter to Hatfield. In spite of their seeming harshness, Mary soon discovered that

* "*Anne Boleyn*," vol. i. p. 209. Chapuis to Charles V., Vienna Archives, P. C. 228, 1, fol. 91.

her father's most trusted Ministers were secretly her friends. Dr. Fox, the King's almoner, contrived to whisper to her on the way, that she had done right not to submit, and besought her for the love of God and the realm to remain firm. According to Chapuis, Henry imagined that he himself would succeed in making Mary understand her position, where others had failed, and he set out for Hatfield, to try his personal blandishments on his obstinate daughter. Anne, knowing the pride he took in Mary's accomplishments, and fearing her beauty and goodness might soften her father's anger towards her, and that he might be moved to treat her better, sent Cromwell and other messengers in haste after the King, with orders to prevent him in every possible way from seeing the Princess. They succeeded so well, that Henry only saw her, as he was mounting his horse to leave Hatfield. She was standing on a balcony, and at the sight of her he lifted his cap, forgetting for a moment all his resentment. Chapuis declares that the courtiers, eager to testify their respect for her, immediately did the same, bowing low to her, after which the whole cavalcade went away towards London. Shortly after this, some one ventured to praise Mary's goodness in the King's presence, upon which the tears came into his eyes. But Anne was watchful, she could not afford the least return of Henry's affection for his daughter; the more especially as his passion for herself gave signs of being on the wane. She reproached him with allowing Mary too much liberty, and for permitting her to receive advice and encouragement. It was incredible to her that Mary's prudent answers could be prepared by so young a girl without prompting. But Henry declared that it was her confidence in the Emperor, that made her so wilful and obstinate. Mary had been placed under the charge of Lady Shelton, a relation of Anne's, and about this time some peasants having made a demonstration in her favour, assembling in numbers under her balcony, Anne sent a message to her kinswoman ordering that she should be beaten if she persisted in calling herself Princess. Moreover, if she would not dine at the common table, she was to have nothing to eat at all. But Mary was not beaten, and the King was charged ten shillings a week for the breakfast and dinner served to her in her room. Having failed to intimidate Mary, Anne now tried what flattery would do, but she soon acknowledged herself defeated, and could only threaten to take vengeance on the obstinate girl, swearing that she would "break the haughtiness of this horrid Spanish blood."

The Dormer MS. relates how it chanced that

she and the Lady Anne Boleyn, at Eltham, heard Mass together in one room. At the end of Mass, the Lady Mary made a low curtsy and went to her lodging; so did the Lady Anne, then called Queen.

When she came to her quarter one of her maids told her that the Lady Mary at parting made reverence to her. She answered and said that she did not observe it; and said, "If we had seen it, we would have done as much to her;" and presently sent a lady of honour to her to excuse it, adding that the love of none should be dearer nor more respected than hers, and she would embrace it with the kindness of a true friend. The lady that carried the message came when the Lady Mary was sat down at dinner. When admitted she said, "The Queen salutes your grace with much affection, and craves pardon, understanding that at your parting from the oratory you made a curtsy to her, which if she had seen she would have answered you with the like, and she desires that this may be an entrance of friendly correspondence, which your grace shall find completely to be embraced on her part." "It is not possible," answered the Lady Mary, "that the Queen can send me such a message, nor is it fit she should, nor can it be so sudden, her Majesty being so far from this place. You would have said the Lady Anne Boleyn, for I can acknowledge no other Queen but my mother, nor esteem them my friends who are not hers. And for the reverence I made, it was to the altar, to her Maker and mine, and so they are deceived, and deceive her, who tell her otherwise." The Lady Anne was maddened with this answer, replying that one day she would pull down this high spirit.

Mary's road from Greenwich to Eltham had been a triumphal procession. In spite of their husbands crowds of women had collected to see her pass, cheering her, and calling out that she was still their princess, in spite of all laws to the contrary. Those of high rank paid the penalty of their devotion by being sent to the Tower, but the people were not silenced. Chapuis was, all through her troubles, Mary's very good friend. When the King invited him to hunt in the Royal parks, which was esteemed a great favour, he quietly declared that he would make use of the privilege only on condition of the Princess Mary being treated less harshly. In this way, he was often bribed to accept some small courtesy from Henry or Cromwell. He suspected Anne of the most infamous designs, and his suspicions were not without foundation, for she made no secret of her intention to poison Mary, if she had her in her power during the King's absence in France. Friedmann attributes this nefarious intention to Anne alone, but Burnet publishes a letter from Catherine to her daughter warning her against offending her father, and telling her to obey him "in everything, *save only that you will not offend God and lose your soul.*" According to Burnet, Henry was "impatient of contradiction from any, but especially from his own child, and was resolved to strike a terror in all his people by putting her openly to death." Anne's position was by no means secure; the nation could not be induced to treat her with respect, and it was not unnatural that she should

look forward to Catherine's and Mary's deaths as the only way out of her difficulties. She felt truly that she should never be a real queen while Catherine lived, and Mary had shown herself the reverse of accommodating with regard to Elizabeth's pretensions. For two years Henry and his Ministers had spoken of Catherine's death as an event that would soon take place. One day Gregorio da Casale, Henry's agent in Rome, told Chapuis that Henry said she had dropsy, and would soon die. Chapuis replied that the Queen had never suffered from anything like dropsy, and he suspected that the prediction of her approaching end meant that she was to be poisoned. "*Doncques est a doubter comme jay ci devant escrit a votre Maieste quilz sement telles choses pour lui faire venir une ydropisie artificielle dont Dieu la venille preserver.*"*

It was for some time Chapuis' object to obtain Henry's consent for Mary to live with her mother, thinking that each would be a consolation and protection to the other; but when he saw the danger Catherine was in, it seemed to him that Mary would be safer away from the enemies by whom her unfortunate mother was surrounded. He bribed Lady Shelton and gave her to understand that while Mary remained in good health she was herself safe, but that she would be in the greatest danger if Mary died while in her charge, so that whenever the Princess was ill Lady Shelton could not conceal her anxiety.

At the beginning of December 1535 it was announced that Catherine was at the point of death. Chapuis managed to gain access to her, but Mary's entreaty that she might see her mother before she died was sternly refused. Dr. Madden gives a touching letter from the poor Queen to some person whom she calls her "especial friend," thanking him for the pains he has taken in speaking to the King on the subject of her seeing her daughter, and expressive of her desire that Mary might be sent to the neighbourhood of Kimbolton, even if they were not to be allowed to meet. She promises not to disobey the King's command, and adds that even if she would, she has neither horse nor litter to carry her.† The King is, however, to be told that the thing she most desires is the company of her daughter, "being assured that a little comfort and mirth which she should take with me should undoubtedly be half a health unto me." This consolation was, however, denied her, and she expired January 8, 1535-6. Just before her death, she wrote an affectionate letter to Henry, entreating him to be a good father to their child. Mary was now

* Chapuis to Charles V., January 17, 1534. Vienna Archives, P. C. 229, 1, fol. 8.

† MS. Cott. Otho. C. x. f. 176.

twenty years of age. Chapuis advised her to conciliate her father; the King, he urged, was already tiring of Anne, and was nothing loth to contract another marriage. If he died under existing circumstances, Mary was certain to succeed; it was therefore to her interest that he should not contract a true marriage. To this Mary replied that she did not care how her own interests might be affected, if her father could be saved from the sinful life he was leading.*

On the fall of Anne, she set about regaining the King's goodwill. Writing to Cromwell the day after Anne's execution, she says: "No one ventured to speak a word in my favour, while that woman was living, whom may God pardon. Now that she is no more, I beg of you to intercede for me with his Majesty. My writing is very bad, but it is owing to my not having been allowed to trace a single line for the last two years."

Up to this time Mary's conduct had been perfectly reasonable and consistent. She had been strong against persecution and flattery alike. Cromwell, whose position was only secure so long as he continued to pander to his master's imperious will in all things, saw that her one vulnerable point was the hope of winning her father's affection. The unscrupulous Minister was not likely to risk his life in becoming Mary's champion. Henry required that she should sign a paper confessing and swearing that the marriage between himself "and the late Queen dowager was incestuous and illegitimate, and in opposition to laws human and divine," and in addition to this, she was to acknowledge her father head of the Anglican Church. On her refusing to do so, Cromwell rated her soundly, calling her "an obstinate and obdurate woman, deserving the reward of malice, in the extremity of mischief"—"the most ungrateful, unnatural and obstinate person living, both to God and her father." She was, moreover, "unfit to live in a Christian congregation," and this kind of moral excommunication proved more than Mary could bear. It may have seemed to the unfortunate Princess that she could scarcely add to the meanness and degradation of the state in which she lived, and that her mother was beyond the reach of infamy, while the affection for which she had longed all her life, rendered all the more precious by contrast with her desolate condition, appeared almost within her grasp. Hunted, tortured and crushed into submission, Mary at last agreed to be "bound by the King's laws," whatever they were, and signed the fatal document. No one can doubt that the grandchild of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic, who was none the less a Tudor, must have been brought very low, before she could wittingly set her seal to

* "Anne Boleyn," vol. ii. p. 227.

such ignominy. Her whole subsequent career shows that conviction had nothing whatever to do with her submission. Henry graciously expressed himself satisfied with this surrender, and took his daughter back into his favour. He gave her a more suitable establishment, and sent her a riding horse as a present, "wherein," she wrote, "you have done me a great pleasure, for I had never a one to ride upon sometimes for my health."

About this time, the question of Mary's marriage with the Duke of Orleans was revived, and the negotiations were carried on for several months, but the plan was dropped finally, the demands on both sides being greater than their mutual desire for the union. Francis required that Mary should be declared legitimate, and Henry insisted that the Duke of Orleans should take up his abode in England. Mary's letters to her father at this period are painful in their humble expressions of gratitude for his kindness to her, and of her happiness in being reconciled to him. The Privy Purse Expenses show her to have been frequently at Court, and on very good terms with the new Queen, Jane Seymour, from whom she received occasional presents, and whose train she held at State ceremonies.

From the moment that Henry had hopes of a male heir, Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate, and at this period her condition was far more miserable than Mary's, for she not only wanted for the barest necessities, but was surrounded by evil and depraved examples. From her earliest childhood Mary had been carefully shielded from vice, her surroundings were healthy and pure. The Dormer MS. says:

That she was so bred as she hated evil, and knew no foul or unclean speeches, which when her father understood, he would not believe it, but would try it once by Sir Francis Brian, being at a mask in the Court, and finding it to be true notwithstanding, perceiving her to be prudent, and of a princely spirit, did ever after more honour her.

This praise of Mary's clean mind is no less than a condemnation of the general tone of the Court, and of society at large. The levity inaugurated by Anne Boleyn was surpassed by the light and disreputable Catherine Howard, and the King's coarse jests at the expense of the homely, but good-natured, Anne of Cleves were the pastime of the little Elizabeth. Mary's house seems to have been, after the dissolution of the monasteries, the one refuge for unprotected girls of good family who desired to lead a virtuous life. It is related of Jane Dormer that—

When she grew older, she was commended to the most noble and Catholic princess, the Lady Mary, so persuaded by her grandfather Sidney, whom two of his daughters had served before, and died in her

service, much favoured of her Highness for their virtue. When the queens (the wives of King Henry) had sought with much importunity to have them in their service, they would by no means leave the Lady Mary, although the King himself requested it. In those days, the house of this princess was the only harbour for honourable young gentlewomen given any way to piety and devotion. It was the true school of virtuous demeanour, befitting the education that ought to be in noble damsels. And the greatest lords in the kingdom were suitors to her, to receive their daughters in her service.

Bishop Goodwin, a sincere Protestant, says that Mary was "a woman truly pious, benign, and of most chaste manners, and to be lauded above all, *if you do not regard her failure in religion*"—an admission which at once discloses the reason for which she has been rendered odious. Camden cannot sufficiently praise her for the "sanctity of her demeanour towards the poor," nor must it be supposed that she was wanting in liveliness, or that she cared for no amusements. If her lowliness and humility of heart led her to compose prayers "against the assaults of vices," she did not imagine that piety demanded sullen looks or morbid conversation. There was nothing Puritanical in her virtue. If study was her chief occupation, dancing was her favourite amusement. In 1526 several musicians were comprised in her establishment, and we are told that she played three musical instruments excellently well, while the account of her expenses contains frequent disbursements for the payment of "luters' wages" and rewards to morris dancers. She was also fond of singing birds, delighted in riding and hunting, and was not averse to card playing. Added to these pursuits, she was skilled in all kinds of embroideries and other needlework. Her hand was not only always open to the poor and needy, but she was generous to the Church, to her friends, and those dependent on her. Among the list of her charities, alms are frequently given "to a poor maid's marrying." With regard to Mary's personal appearance, her numerous portraits, differing as they do from each other, and being so frequently undated, are as misleading as those of her kinswoman, Mary Stuart.

The painting best entitled to consideration [says Dr. Madden] is that preserved at Burghley House, and engraved in Lodge's splendid work. A general resemblance can easily be traced in the features to those of Catherine of Arragon as she appears in Houbraken's print, and the quiet, intellectual cast of countenance accords strictly with what we know of Mary's habits and disposition. In the original she is represented with brown hair, large open hazel eyes, full red lips, and a good complexion, but inclining to the brunette. Altogether it is a face which, although it would not strike at first sight, yet by degrees commands a considerable degree of admiration.

The secretary of the Duke de Nájera, who visited the English Court in 1543-4, Mary being then twenty-eight years old, describes her as having a pleasing countenance and person, and some years later, Michele, the Venetian ambassador, speaks of her low stature, her thin, delicate figure, her well-formed features, her piercing eyes inspiring respect and awe in all who approached her, her deep, rich voice. "In conclusion," he adds, "she is a well-looking lady, nor, putting out of the question her rank as Queen, should she ever be spoken ill of for want of sufficient beauty."*

Mary suffered nearly all her life from ill health, and in the Privy Purse Expenses mention is constantly made of sums paid to her apothecary for "doctor's stuff" and "for bleeding her grace."

She never again forfeited Henry's good-will, and at his death in 1547 found herself second in succession. Edward VI., before he was influenced by evil counsellors, looked up to her with respect and affection. There is a pretty Latin letter which he wrote to her shortly before his accession, congratulating her on her recovery from an illness. In it there occurs the following sentence: "*Amo te sicut frater debet amare charissimam sororem quæ habet omnia ornamenta virtutis et honestatis in se.*"† Mary returned her brother's affection warmly; she had stood godmother to him, and from his birth had watched over him with the most tender solicitude. On the day he was born she distributed forty shillings in alms to the poor; and after the Queen's death had thirteen Masses said for her soul, at Hampton Court and Windsor.

After this, her expenses are increased by frequent gifts to members of the Prince's household, to his nurses, minstrels, and apothecaries. She buys him toys and games, and on the first New Year's Day after his birth presents him with a cap, the cost of which is entered at £3 5s. Then there is a present to him of a little coat of crimson satin, and, later on, of a "gold limned book." She gives him a clock and many other things too numerous to mention.

Mary might reasonably have hoped to enjoy a little peace and happiness during the reign of her young brother, who had learnt to love and esteem her, and to whom she had filled almost the place of a mother. Her father's last will and testament had, however, placed her too near the throne for her to be ignored by Edward's counsellors, and her adherence to the faith which had hitherto been professed by all Christendom, rendered her obnoxious to the religious innovators who ruled the young king.

* Lansd. MS., 840, A. f. 155, b.

† Ellis's Letters, 2, 134, 1st Series.

From the time of his accession, she appeared rarely at Court, but lived in great retirement at her own residences, chiefly at Hunsdon in Norfolk, or at New Hall and Copt Hall in Essex, careful to attract as little notice as possible. In spite of her prudence, she did not long remain unmolested. Mass had been abolished by Act of Parliament, yet was said openly in Mary's house, and the Lord Protector Somerset called upon her to embrace the new form of worship, "the Communion and other Divine services set forth by his Majesty." Mary's reply was an appeal to the Emperor, who at that time was negotiating a marriage for her with Don Luis of Portugal. The Emperor claimed for her the right accorded to foreign ambassadors of having Mass said in their chapels. Notwithstanding this interference, the Princess was summoned to appear forthwith before the Council at Westminster to answer for her disobedience. To all their arguments she replied, with dignity, that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings.* The Emperor instructed his ambassador to second her resolution by a message of war, in case she were molested. For a time it was therefore thought prudent to say no more, but in their dealings with Mary, Edward's Ministers neither slumbered nor slept for long together. In August 1551 the three principal officers of her household were called before the Council assembled at Hampton Court, and commanded, under pain of the King's "high indignation and displeasure," to see that no member of her house assisted at Mass or other such forbidden rite, and that "no such service be conducted in her said house." They were then dismissed and peremptorily commanded to return to Mary and carry out the charge they had received.

The three gentlemen, Mr. Rochester, Sir Francis Englefield, and Mr. Waldegrave, proceeded reluctantly to Copt Hall, where Mary was then residing, but as they only arrived there a little before nightfall, agreed to put off their communication till the next day.

The next day being Sunday, and hearing that the Princess intended going to Communion, they determined to leave her undisturbed until after dinner, at noon, when they asked leave to deliver their letters. When she had read these, the unwilling ambassadors told her that they had received a charge from the Council, and begged that she would listen to what they had to say.

At first she declared that, being well-informed of their orders by the contents of the letters she had just read, she wished to

* Council Book, Edward VI.

hear nothing from them, but yielded at last to their entreaties. As they proceeded, however, she became indignant and "marvellously offended with them," and forbade them to say aught to her chaplains or household of the commands of the Council, threatening, if they disobeyed, that she would immediately leave the house, and own them no longer for her servants. They, seeing her agitation, her rapid change of colour, and disturbed expression, feared to bring about a return of her old malady by insisting on their mission, and begged her to reconsider the matter, and give them her final answer on the following Wednesday. This she consented to do. Wednesday, however, brought no change in her sentiments, and according to their own account, the three officers "did not only not find her more conformable, but in farther choler than she was before, utterly forbidding them to make declaration of their charge and commission to her chaplains and household." Having told the three gentlemen that she would attribute to themselves any inconvenience she or her household might be subjected to, she dismissed them, and they returned to Hampton Court more gladly than they came. They took with them a letter from their mistress to the King, a model of good reasoning, gentleness, and firmness, but animated throughout with that spiritedness for which the Tudors were remarkable.

And now [she wrote towards the end of the letter, after begging the King to take her life rather than deprive her of Mass], I must humbly beseech your Highness to give me leave to write what I think, touching your Majesty's letters. Indeed, they be signed with your own hand, and, nevertheless, in my opinion, not your Majesty's in effect, because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your Highness) that although, our Lord be praised, your Majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your Highness can, at these years, be a judge in matters of religion. And, therefore, I take it, that the matter in your letters proceedeth from such as do wish these things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings (your Majesty not offended) I intend not to rule my conscience.

The three officers were severely reprimanded for not having executed their lordships' commands, and straightway bidden to return to Mary's house and carry out the charge committed to them. Upon this they unanimously refused to have anything further to do with it. They were then remanded until it should be decided what was to be done to them in punishment for their contumacy, the Lord Chancellor, the Comptroller, and the Secretary of State taking upon themselves to manage the business.

The following is their own account of their proceedings:

Windsor, 29th August, 1551. First having received commandment

and instructions from the King's Majesty, we repaired to Copt Hall, the said Lady Mary's house in Essex, on Friday last, being the 28th of this instant, in the morning, where, shortly after our coming, the Lord Chancellor delivered his Majesty's letters unto her, which she received upon her knees, saying that for the honour of the King's Majesty's hand, wherewith the said letters were signed, she would kiss ye letter, and not for the matter contained in them, for the matter (said she) I take to proceed from you of the Council. In the reading of the letter, which she did read secretly to herself, she said these words in our hearing—"Good Mr. Cecil took much pains here!" When she had read the letters we began to open the matter of our instructions unto her. And as I, the Lord Chancellor, began, she prayed me to be short, for (said she) I am not well at ease; and I will make you a short answer, notwithstanding that I have already declared and written my mind to his Majesty plainly with my own hands. After this we told her at good length, how the King's Majesty having used all the gentle means and exhortations that he might, to have reduced her to the rights of religion and order of Divine Service set forth by the laws of the realm, and finding her nothing conformable, but still remaining in her former error, had resolved by the whole estate of his Majesty's Privy Council, and with the consent of divers others of the nobility, that she should no longer use the private Mass, nor any other Divine Service than is set forth by the laws of the realm, and here we offered to show her the names of all those that were present at this consultation and resolution; but she said she cared not for any rehearsal of their names, for (said she) I know you be all of one sort therein. We told her, farther, that the King's Majesty's pleasure was, that we should also give straight charge to her chaplains and servants, &c. Hereunto her answer was this:—First, she protested that to the King's Majesty she was, is, and ever will be, his most humble and most obedient subject and poor sister, and would most willingly obey all his commands in anything (her conscience saved)—yea, and would willingly and gladly suffer death to do his Majesty good; but rather than she will agree to use any other service than was used at the death of the late King, her father, she would lay her head on a block and suffer death, but (said she) I am unworthy to suffer death in so good a quarrel. When the King's Majesty (said she) shall come to such years that he may be able to judge these things himself, his Majesty shall find me ready to obey his orders in religion, but now in these years, although he would, sweet King, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet it is not possible that he can be a judge in these things. For if ships were to be sent to the seas, or any other thing to be done, touching the policy of the government of the realm, I am sure you would not think his Highness yet able to consider what were to be done, and much less (said she) can he in these days discern what is fittest in matters of divinity. And if my chaplains do say no Mass, I can hear none, no more can my poor servants, but as for my servants, I know it shall be against their wills, as it shall be against mine, for if they could come where it were said, they

would hear it with good-will ; and as for my priests, they know what they have to do ; the pain of your laws is but imprisonment for a short time, and if they will refuse to say Mass, for fear of that imprisonment, they may do therein as they will, but none of your new service (said she) shall be used in my house, and if any be said in it, I will not tarry in the house."

They then proceeded to blame the conduct of Rochester and Mary's other servants in not executing the orders of the Council, upon which she replied, "that it was not the wisest Council to appoint her servants to control her in her own house, and if they refused to do the message unto her and her chaplains and servants, as aforesaid, they be (said she) the honester men, for they should have spoken against their consciences."

The promise to the Emperor was then discussed.

I have (quoth she) the Emperor's hand, testifying that this promise was made, which I believe better than you all of the Council ; and though you esteem little the Emperor, yet should you show more favour to me for my father's sake, who made the more part of you, almost of nothing. But as for the Emperor (said she) if he were dead, I would say as I do and if he would give me now other advice, I would not follow it, notwithstanding (quoth she), to be plain with you, his ambassador shall know how I am used at your hands. After this we opened the King's Majesty's pleasure for one to attend on her grace for the supply of Rochester's place during his absence. To this her answer was that she would appoint her own officers, and that she had years sufficient for that purpose, and if we left any such man she would go out of her gates, for they two would not dwell in one house, and (quoth she) I am sickly, and yet I would not die willingly, but will do the best I can to preserve my life ; but if I shall chance to die, I will protest openly that you of the Council be the causes of my death ; you give me fair words, but your deeds be always ill towards me ; and having said this she departed from us into her bedchamber.

Before leaving them Mary knelt down before the Lord Chancellor, and with humble recommendation declared that she was the King's true subject and sister, and would obey his commandment in all things excepting those matters of religion touching the Mass and the new service. "But yet," she added, "this shall never be told to the King's Majesty." They then delivered their orders to Mary's chaplains and household ; and when after some time they were waiting in the courtyard for one of the priests, to whom the order had not been given, a messenger came from the Princess, saying that she would speak a word to them from a window. Having opened a casement, she prayed them to speak with the Lords of the Council, that her comptroller might shortly return, for—

Sythens his departing I take the account myself of my expenses, and learn how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat, and

I wis my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing, and to be plain with you, I am weary of mine office, and therefore if my Lords will send my officer home, they shall do me pleasure, otherwise, if they will send him to prison, I beshrew him if he go not to it merrily and with a good-will; and I pray God to send you to do well in your souls and bodies, for some of you have but weak bodies.

The three officers were sent to the Tower, where they remained till the 18th of March of the following year, but were not allowed to return to Mary till much later. After this the Council, whether on account of the King's failing health or from fear of the Emperor, thought fit to let Mary alone. With Edward's permission she continued to hear Mass, although, according to Lingard's opinion, with greater privacy than before. As Edward declined in health, Mary began to be looked upon as the "rising sun." She paid him a visit at Greenwich in June 1552, and another at Westminster in 1553, but although they were on affectionate terms, her enemies took care to prevent any real understanding between them. They had long been working upon the King's mind, and had caused him to make what Turner calls that "nefarious combination," by which the crown was to be alienated from its rightful possessor and placed on the head of a usurper. Edward died on July 6, 1553, having excluded Mary and Elizabeth from the succession.

That Mary had grown no less popular than in the days when people were sent to the Tower for flocking to see her pass by, is proved by the fact that, in spite of the huge machinery of injustice set in motion by Edward's Council, a few days sufficed to seat her firmly on the throne and bring her enemies to her feet. The thirty thousand men who rose unanimously in her defence refused pay, and served her from enthusiasm and loyalty alone.

J. M. STONE.

ART. VIII.—THE DOCK LABOURERS' STRIKE.

I. THE LABOUR MARKET OF EAST LONDON.

1. *Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System.* December 24, 1888.
2. *Report to the Board of Trade on the Sweating System at the East End of London.* By the LABOUR CORRESPONDENT of the Board. 1887.
3. *Labour and Life of the People.* Vol. I. *East London.* Edited by CHARLES BOOTH. London : Williams & Norgate. 1889.

THE great social revolution involved in the abandonment of trade to the regulation of economic forces alone is still in slow process of development. The commercial machine only escapes from legislative shackles to come into collision with a thousand other controlling forces, and to have its action hampered by the infinite friction of all the opposing passions of humanity. It is free only in the sense of being thrown open as a battle-field for the strife of hostile interests, for the duel of consumer and producer, of capitalist and craftsman. With the indefinite extension of its area by modern rapidity of communication, its rivalries embrace the whole world in a war at once cosmopolitan and internecine, of people against people, of class against class, of intelligence against intelligence. And of this, as of all other wars, the uncompromising and unpitying motto is *Væ Victis!* or the weakest to the wall.

English commercial legislation had, up to a certain point, differed from that of all other countries in regarding the interests of the consumer as paramount to all other interests, whether national or social. The cheapening of commodities by unrestricted competition was its sole ideal, pursued at the cost of any amount of practical suffering or loss. Rural industry, handicapped by rent and taxes, was unequally pitted against the unburdened fruitfulness of the western prairie, and the unsown fallow and the idle plough were found to be the counter weights of the cheap loaf. Capital next felt the stress in the attempt to cope with lower wages and longer hours of work on the Continent, and furnaces are blown out in the north, while German and Belgium ironmasters send us our hoes and harrows.

But labour, though indirectly affected by these changes, has only recently been brought immediately face to face with foreign competition, and not until the last few months did this new

phase of the industrial conflict begin to force itself on public attention. British labour, long undersold by the products of the continental workman, has not hitherto been confronted with him in direct competition of man to man. The rapid growth of foreign immigration into London has now raised this new form of the social question, and with it the outcry for that protection for labour so vainly claimed on behalf of all other interests. The Chinese Question, the burning subject of controversy in the Western States of the American Union and our own Australasian Colonies, has come upon us in aggravated difficulty, since the subjects of great European Powers cannot be summarily dealt with like those of the decrepit Empire of China. The received dogmas of economic science are moreover controverted by the practical teaching of the new situation, for cheapness of production is immediately felt to be an evil when attained by competition wages. The sacred rights of the consumer are seen to be incompatible with the other interests of the community, when pushed to their logical extremity of unrestricted wear and tear of human organisms. The struggle for existence, which eliminates the weak and secures the survival of the fittest, may be regarded with equanimity in the brute and vegetable worlds, but when enacted by the surging human mob at the dock-gates of East London, it immediately brings home to us the conviction that there is something wrong in the scheme of social existence that produces it. How to deal with the formidable question of labour in the East End, is then a subject which may well engage the attention of statesmen and thinkers.

A valuable contribution to our knowledge of it is made in the mass of information collected by Mr. Booth in the volume before us. The result of researches in which his own personal inquiries were supplemented by those of a staff of coadjutors, it embodies articles by various contributors, some of them reprinted from the *Nineteenth Century*. An instructive feature of the work is furnished by the maps with which it is illustrated, distinguishing in colour the various gradations of means and respectability, and thus enabling the reader to take a bird's-eye view of the districts portrayed. These are Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, Stepney, Mile End Old Town, Bethnal Green, most of Shoreditch, and part of Poplar. The general survey is reassuring to those who may have imagined this region one vast slough of misery and crime, for over the entire area embraced the well-to-do classes preponderate largely over those dependent on casual and precarious earnings; while the lowest order of the population—that described as vicious and semi-criminal—occupies but a comparatively small section of the map. These outlaws, out of a total of 900,000, are estimated at about 11,000; those

classed as "very poor," ill-nourished, and poorly clad, but with only a percentage of actual distress, at 100,000; and the class immediately above, tabulated as "poor," leading a struggling life, but not in want of necessities, at 200,000. The superior grades, enjoying comparative comfort, number about half a million, and among these the author, who actually lived amongst them, found much family affection, tenderness for children, and a standard of happiness as high as, or higher, than that prevailing among the rich. The bane of this well-to-do working class is drinking, when indulged in by either parent, but more especially by the mother. Respectability and comfort may be made compatible with occasional excesses on the part of the male head of the house if the housewife be thrifty and capable, but a drunken woman drags down all her surroundings to her own disreputable level. In this respect, however, a considerable and progressive improvement is noted, and the increasing temperance of the people is the most hopeful sign of their future.

The large part which club-life plays in the East End is a feature of resemblance with more aristocratic quarters. East London and Hackney contain 115 clubs, divided into two groups by a broad line of demarcation. The one, 32 in number, consists of private or proprietary clubs, which repel, for excellent reasons, all investigation into their doings, and enjoy the evil reputation of combining the features of a gambling hell with those of a low-class dancing saloon. The other clubs, which freely invite inquiry, are places of generally harmless recreation, largely frequented by the classes for whom they are intended. Those attached to churches or missions, of a religious or philanthropic character, and conducted on teetotal principles, number 16, with some 2600 members; the purely social clubs, self-supporting, and of spontaneous growth, 18, with 5530 members; while political, or politico-social clubs are reckoned at 32—22 Liberal or Radical, 6 Conservative, 3 Socialistic, and 1 Irish Home Rule. The aggregate tale of membership of the first mounts up to from 8000 to 9000, and of the second to 1800; while the three Socialist clubs have but 300 members, and the roll-call of Hibernian patriotism is little over 100. Mr. Booth concludes the prevailing political complexion of East London to be not so much Liberal or Radical as frankly Republican, with a tinge of vague and unorganized Socialism.

The subscription to the ordinary working-man's clubs is 6*d.* a month, with a like fee for entrance, and they number, on the average, 300 to 400 members. The larger ones present a lively scene of animation in the evening, when they are often crowded to excess. Gambling is strictly prohibited, and billiards is the chief game in vogue, though cards and dominoes are also played.

Entertainments, lectures, or discussions, to all of which women are invited, are provided three times a week, varied by dancing on special occasions, all these amusements being decorous and well ordered. Three theatres for the production of legitimate drama, and six music-halls where the performance is unobjectionable, are the other chief places of public entertainment in the East End.

But the exercise [says Mr. Booth] in which the people most delight is discussion. The clubs provide for this on Sundays, but the custom flourishes yet more freely in the open air. Mile End Waste on Saturday night, Victoria Park on Sunday, are where the meetings are mostly gathered. It may be that those who make up the crowds that surround the speakers, and who join in the wordy warfare, or split into groups of eager talkers, are the same individuals over and over again. But I do not think so. I believe keen dialectic to be the especial passion of the population at large. It is the fence, the cut and thrust, or skilful parry that interests rather than the merits of the subject, and it is religious discussion which interests the people most.

The attempt to organize popular amusement on a grandiose scale in the People's Palace, the idea of Mr. Besant, and the work of Sir Edmund Currie, aided by the munificence of the Drapers' Company, can hardly as yet be ranked as a success. It contains not only a library, swimming-bath, and accommodation for various entertainments provided for the outside public at a small entrance charge, but technical schools attended by 2250 students, a day-school with 400 pupils, and gymnastic classes with a like number. Such an institution, however, to be of lasting value, must rest on a sound financial basis, and as long as it depends on an annual subscription to meet current expenses, its existence cannot be considered to be assured.

About a hundred missionary and philanthropic agencies of various denominations cater for the religious wants of the East End population. The majority of those who attend any place of worship, estimated at about 23 per cent. of the inhabitants, belong to the Church of England, whose congregations sum up to 70,000, while the ecclesiastical accommodation of the Catholic Church is only calculated for a tenth of that number. This, however, is no test of the actual number of Catholics, as the frequent Masses said in each church enable it to accommodate a congregation many times beyond its actual capacity. The beneficence of the English upper classes finds an inexhaustible field in this great preserve of indigence, nor are either money or personal pains spared in their efforts for its amelioration. The universities set a noble example, and Toynbee Hall and Oxford House are two great organizations worked by them for bringing

the extremes of culture and ignorance into contact. A single week's programme of the former institution reads like an educational course in itself, comprising lectures on science and letters, classes in ancient and modern languages, concerts, Shakespeare meetings, and exhibitions of various forms of art. Some twenty resident members of the universities are constantly in intimate association with the people, and a weekly attendance of about 1000 shows that their efforts are appreciated. Separate missions have been established by many of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, as well as by the public schools, and their pupils and graduates take a share in the work of religious instruction. Christ Church, Oxford, has, among others, a large district, and Corpus Christi, Cambridge, a small one, carved out of the parochial areas.

Thus the picture of East End life, despite its darker shades, is relieved by glimpses of simple pleasures, and lightened by touches of the kindlier charities of humanity. The difficulties that thwart alike the philanthropist and the economist in their projects of amelioration are due to the chronic disturbing effect of an influx of population, eddying Londonwards from all quarters, as though drawn by the suction of a great whirlpool. The magnetism of the mighty human mass attracts to itself all individual atoms within a certain radius, as that of some planetary bulk does the meteorites impinging on its atmosphere. The colossal scale of the wealth of the world's capital acts on the imagination at a distance, with the delusive promise of some gleanings of its boundless harvest of gold. The sordid drama and pinch-beck glitter of its street life in the poorer quarters exercise a fascination on those who crave for excitement in a life of toilsome routine, while the boundless charities of the metropolis are a loadstone drawing the disreputable camp-followers of the army of industry to their centre of distribution. Failure of rural occupation owing to agricultural depression helps to swell the tide, which thus sweeps all the flotsam and jetsam of the provinces into the general drift towards the metropolis.

So far the movement is but one of the native rural population towards the principal urban centre, but of late years events on the Continent have combined with the general restlessness of modern life to cast on our shores a formidable wave of foreign immigration. Jews from Poland and Galicia, outcasts of Russian race-persecution, and Austrian social ostracism, bring amongst us, with a standard of living far below that of the lowest classes in England, an Oriental deftness of brain and finger, and an insect-like patience in toil. Thus constituted by nature and habits to form a threatening element of competition in the labour market, they congregate together to the number of about 40,000

in the most crowded lanes and alleys of Whitechapel, Mile End, and St. George's-in-the-East. In this English Ghetto, "Jüdisch," a corrupt dialect of Germanized Hebrew, is the language of the streets, inscriptions in Hebrew characters may be seen in shop-windows, and the observance of the Sabbath supersedes that of Sunday as the day of rest. Here the Jew lives and thrives amid the most unsanitary conditions, his comparative abstinence from alcoholic excess giving him immunity from the diseases bred by it in the native population. Frugal, parsimonious, and self-concentrated, he generally contrives to rise in the social scale, and the financial aptitude which has made the Rothschilds arbiters of the fate of nations, soon transforms the destitute Hebrew apprentice into the taskmaster of others, and "sweater" of the labour of the Gentile. Pacific, law-abiding, and industrious, the Jew is often nevertheless an element of demoralization in the population amid which he lives, since he becomes, at a pinch, the organizer not alone of labour but of crime, and if not always vicious himself, is ever ready to trade in the vice of others. The evil reputation of the Whitechapel district cannot be dissociated from its position as the centre of the Hebrew colony in East London.

The effect of this steady influx of alien immigrants on native work and trade was the subject proposed for consideration to a Special Committee of the House of Commons, whose somewhat inconclusive report, recommending some system of registration and supervision, was issued on August 9. It seems, in the absence of exact statistics, that the alien population is gaining on the native in the districts affected by it in a steadily increasing ratio. Thus, the proportion of foreign residents, given by the census of 1861 as 7, had risen in 1871 to 10, and in 1881 to 13 per cent. of population. The immigrants are mainly Russo-Polish and Austro-Hungarian subjects, who arrive in a state of abject destitution, ready to compete on any terms for the already scanty living available for the needier classes of the indigenous inhabitants of East London. Their rivalry is principally felt in a few branches of industry, chiefly the wholesale tailoring and boot-making trades, and in a lesser degree in the furniture and cigar manufactures.

It appears clear from the evidence [says the report of the Select Committee] that some of the results of foreign immigration are bad. Its effects are, of course, most evident in those trades which they chiefly follow. The first and most striking result has been a lowering of wages in these occupations. The immigrants, on their first arrival, are content to work for lower wages than satisfy Englishmen.

With regard to the general effect of alien labour on the shoe and clothing trades, it has been alleged that the inferior quality of the

work turned out tends to injure English workmen by destroying the market. On the other hand, it is argued that no injury is done to English labour, since the trade in which foreign immigrants are engaged is one that has been mainly created by themselves, and is of a class which English workmen would not do, and on the wages paid for which they could not live.

Of these two trades, which form the special province of the sweating system, the general history, like that of many modern industries, may be summed up as the sacrifice of quality to cheapness. Minute subdivision of labour, together with the extensive substitution of machine for hand work, enables articles, formerly completed by one skilled craftsman, to be manufactured piecemeal by a gang of human automata. Mr. Booth compares the results of the rival systems as follows :—

Take a morning coat made by an English journeyman tailor for a first-class West End firm (say Messrs. Poole & Son), and the same article turned out by a Jewish contractor for the wholesale trade in slop garments. Lay them side by side. There may be no difference in the material; that is settled by the taste of the customer. There may be no difference in the cut, for cutters trained in good places command high salaries from all classes of merchant tailors and wholesale clothiers. But look at each garment closely, and examine the workmanship. At a glance you will perceive that the one is hand sewn and the other machine made. Examine further into the work of the English journeyman tailor: you will note that in those parts of the coat that need lining the latter will be fitted to the material and felled over; while, if the coat be lined throughout, the lining will be attached by a slight tack to one or other of the seams of the material, and in all cases felled over. There are fewer stitches, yards less thread or silk, and yet in all places material and lining lie compactly together. Now turn to the coat of a Jewish contractor. Take the material in one hand, the lining in the other. Pull them apart. Why it is not a coat at all—it is a balloon. Snip the two or three hidden tacks at the base of the collar, and even this opens out and loses all individual form. Fill it with light gas, and hermetically seal the pores of the stuff, and behold! “the thing” floats up to heaven formless and without shape, never again to trouble its owner or the English tailor. This garment is not made at all: to use a trade expression, it is “bagged together,” material and lining seamed up separately, laid back to back, run round the edges by the heavy treading machine, the coat turned inside out through an arm-hole, the machine process repeated. Now, the difference to the customer between these two representative coats is, as I said before, not one of material or of cut. In the first place it is one of wear. The coat made by the individual Englishman will wear three times as long as that made by the staff of the Jewish contractor. Still more, it is a question of fit. Fit, that one constant test of the art of a tailor or dressmaker, untouched by changes in cut or material, is as much dependent on good work-

manship as on the skill of the fitter. A fashionable ladies' tailor knows this when he pays 18s. for the making of a lady's bodice fitted by himself. There is no fit—there can be no fit—in a coat made by the machine, and by subdivided and unskilled labour. Walk behind the wearer of a sweater's coat; if the material be light, it will sway to and fro with a senseless motion; if heavy, it bulges out first here, then there. The reason is self-evident. With a few weeks' wear the material and the lining stretch different ways, and to a varying extent, and presently the coat hangs on its owner's back like linen on a clothes-line at the mercy of every movement or gust of wind.

The transformation of the tailoring trade during the last thirty years from a retail into a wholesale business, is mainly responsible for this deterioration, since it would be manifestly impossible for a firm disposing annually of £500,000 worth of cheap clothing to have it produced on the old principle of one man, one garment. A considerable but decreasing proportion of clothing made to order is still completed in the first-rate tailoring establishments by first-rate English hands, working on the premises at high wages during reasonable hours; but the great mass of ready-made clothing for the middle-class home and colonial market, is supplied by Jewish contractors from their workshops in the East End.

Their trade is concentrated within a comparatively limited area of about one square mile, comprising the whole of Whitechapel, with portions of Mile End, and St. George's-in-the-East. Here the overcrowding of population attains its maximum, and the percentage of human beings per acre rises to 227. All space to the rear, such as was formerly back-yard, or garden, has been absorbed by the pressure of habitation, workshops, called "garden" shops, or other extensions of accommodation, filling up every such interstice. The packing of the human rabbit-warren, "finally culminates" (in the words of our author) "in quarters where house reaches back to house, and means of communication are opened through and through, for the convenience and safeguard of the inhabitants in case of pursuit by the police."

This region is *par excellence* the home of the so-called sweating system, whose essence is the acquisition of profit on the organization of labour. It is defined by the Board of Trade Report as one "under which sub-contractors undertake to do work in their own houses or small workshops, and employ others to do it, making a profit for themselves by the difference between the contract prices and the wages they pay their assistants." It has been in existence for at least fifty years, and originated in home work, which was parcelled out among the members of a family. "A man's wife and daughters," says Mr. Booth, in con-

sidering this part of his subject, "may be his help-mates; they are other men's rivals." The scale of business of these sub-contractors varies indefinitely, from those who employ but one or two assistants, to those in whose workshops from ten to forty or even fifty hands are engaged. The larger establishments approximate to the position of factories, and it is doubtful how far the term "sweater" can be applied to their owners. The majority, however, of the operatives employed under the sweating system labour in workshops where the numbers are much under twenty, and in the case of the small masters, sometimes in the common living-room of the family. The actual number of sweaters in the East End is, according to the Board of Trade correspondent, about 2000, employing from 18,000 to 20,000 hands, of whom somewhat more than one-half are women. The more highly skilled labour is economized by the substitution, wherever possible, of that of the unskilled, and wages vary according to the scale of aptitude; those of men, according to the Board of Trade Report, from 2s. 6d. (this, however, is exceptionally low) to 10s. per day, those of women, from 6d. to 6s. The presser is highly paid, as his work is very arduous, but the raw hands, called "greeners," serve a sort of apprenticeship at nominal wages. West End tailors earn from 50s. to 60s. a week. The staff engaged on a coat comprises cutters, basters, machinists, pressers, fellers, button-hole workers, and general hands, and as but little skill is required by most of these operators, the result is a general rush for employment, and a glut in the labour market. Competition prevails even in the subsidiary branches of the trade, and when the working of button-holes is given out by contract, the women who take it become in turn employers of labour, at wages reduced by a further intermediate profit.

Nor must it be supposed that the sweating master himself escapes the bad effects of the system he represents, for his profits on his own labour and that of others yield him but a bare subsistence, and he earns, in many cases, less than his own assistants. The loss caused by the fall of prices during the last seven or eight years has been, according to the evidence of Mr. Burnett before the House of Lords' Committee, borne mainly by these small employers, wages having remained stationary; while the benefit of the reduction has gone, not to the consumer, but to the wholesale trader. The multiplication of minute labour-jobbers is the great evil of the system, and it is their premises that furnish examples of the typical "sweater's den." Here a room nine or ten feet square, without ventilation, is heated by a coke fire for the pressers' irons, and lit at night by flaring gas jets, and in the atmosphere thus vitiated, eight, ten, or even a dozen individuals work for perhaps fourteen hours at a stretch.

Yet Mr. Lakeman, the Inspector of Factories, expressed his amazement, in giving his evidence, at the freedom from disease of the people living under these conditions, and exclaimed, "They are such a peculiar people, the ills of life do not seem to touch them!"

The principal grievance of the workers is not so much insufficiency of wages as irregularity of employment, the two busy seasons of about six weeks each before Christmas and Easter, being counterbalanced by half-time during the rest of the year. These fluctuations favour the existence of small masters, whose premises being part of their domicile, represent no loss on unproductive capital when idle, like those of the larger manufacturers.

The ease with which a man may become a master, is, according to Mr. Booth, proverbial at the East End:—

His living-room becomes his workshop, his landlord or butcher the security; round the corner he finds a brother Israelite whose trade is to supply pattern garments to take as patterns of work to the wholesale house; with a small deposit he secures on the hire system both sewing-machine and presser's table. Altogether it is calculated that with £1 in his pocket, any man can rise to the dignity of a sweater. At first, the new master will live on "green" labour, will, with the help of his wife or some other relative, do all the skilled work that is needed. Presently, if the quantity of his work increases, or the quality improves, he will engage a machinist, then a presser. His earnings are scanty, probably less than those of either of the skilled hands whom he employs, and he works all hours of the day and night. But the chances of the trade are open to him; with indefatigable energy and a certain measure of organizing power he may press forward into the ranks of the large employers, and if he be successful, day by day and year by year, his profit increases and his labour decreases, relatively to the wage and the labour of his hands.

The sewing-machines used are generally paid for on the hire system, so largely in vogue that Messrs. Singer employ thirty collectors, between whom East London is mapped out into districts, to receive the weekly instalments. Thus every facility is given to the fractional subdivision of that unit of trade, the producing factory. Mr. Booth remarks that the system is dependent for its existence "on the presence in the labour-market of a class of workers—such as Jews or women—with an indefinitely low standard of life," and that without a constant supply of destitute foreigners, or wives compelled to supplement their husbands' irregular earnings, the low class tailoring trade would cease to exist. It has to struggle not only against internecine competition in London itself, but against that of provincial factories as well. Rival colonies of

Jew tailors are now established in Leeds (to the number of 8000), in Bristol, Manchester, Birmingham, and the Stroud Valley, where 200 of these aliens have recently settled. It is, on the other hand, this supply of cheap foreign labour, as the Board of Trade Report points out, which enables England to keep the export trade in ready-made clothing, representing an annual value of between three and four millions, of which £2,606,447 worth was, in 1887, shipped from the port of London alone.

The conditions of the ready-made tailoring trade are repeated in that of cheap boot-making, organized on similar principles. Division of labour is here carried so far, that the ordinary machine-made boot is the product of a score of different operatives. The "uppers" of the inferior qualities are given out to female contractors, who work at home with some four or five assistants, at wages averaging for long hours of work, from 6s. to 13s. a week. But it is in the final set of operations gone through by the boot, known as "lasting" and "finishing," the former consisting of giving it its final shape by nailing the soles and uppers together, the latter of lining, polishing, &c., that the worst evils of competitive industry are developed. These processes are effected on what is known as the "team" system, under which one man, himself generally competent to supply the skilled labour, employs four or five inferior workmen, Jews as a rule, to execute the less difficult portions of his task. This proceeding, by which the utmost economy of labour is attained, is as consonant to the doctrines of economic science as it is obnoxious to those of trades' unionism; since by enlarging the sphere from which labour is obtainable, and thus diminishing the supply of work left for the skilled craftsman, it renders it difficult for the latter to maintain his wages at their due level. Thus two opposite ideals, economy of production and adequate remuneration for labour, are here in conflict. The conditions under which the work is executed are described by Mr. Booth as follows:—

Residing, for the most part, in those squalid and overcrowded portions of East London in which the foreign population has centred itself, in houses often, like the majority of the houses of the East London artisans, replete with sanitary defects, the master finishers provide for themselves and their men workshops (some of which are also used for sleeping in) frequently devoid of the requirements of comfort or even of health. The journeyman finisher and his master divide equally between them the price per pair paid by the manufacturer, the master paying the rent of the workshop and providing lasts, tools, which he gets ground and sharpened at frequent intervals, gas for heating the irons and for lighting purposes, all materials required and portorage, and giving his hands coffee in the morning and tea in

the afternoon to wash down the scanty food which in many cases they eat without leaving their work. For a journeyman thinks himself exceptionally lucky if, in the busy season, he can spare the time to run home for his midday meal.

Here again the grievance of the operatives is not so much lowness of wages as intermittency of employment, the busy season, during which an ordinary competent hand can earn an average of 26s. weekly, lasting but four months, while the scarcity of work at other times reduces his weekly average for the year to 16s. In this trade, too, there exist a class of sweating masters on a larger scale, employing not one but several teams of finishers, and enabled, by the larger scale of their profits, to underbid the lesser men, and thus secure a more abundant supply of work.

Trades' Union intervention, in the direction of restricting competition, has hitherto proved rather injurious than beneficial to the interests of the workmen. The attempt to control all branches of the trade having proved impracticable, the higher class of employers alone were dealt with, the result being that by the acceptance of a minimum rate of wages they were restricted to the production of goods of the first quality alone. Hence the inferior firms, paying 30 per cent. less for piece-work of a lower standard of excellence, are more advantageous employers, since the rapidity of execution compatible with this class of work renders it actually more lucrative to the men than the more finished product of skilled labour. Thus the working of supply and demand forces the trade into its present groove, and holds masters and men alike in its inexorable clutch. The multiplication of small employers, as seen in these two trades, producing what the public have agreed to call the sweating system, is undoubtedly the great economic evil of East London; but even this is but a symptom of the more wide-spread and deep-seated disease of over-competition.

There is [says Mr. Booth] the competition of provincial England in manufacture, and there is the competition of women's work, which is really a contest between the workshop and the home. Then we have that resulting from the influx into London of vigorous countrymen,* and finally foreign competition of two sorts—(1) that which by importation of goods makes use of cheap labour abroad, and (2) that which, owing to foreign immigration, can make use of equally cheap labour at home. The former is, in effect, the competition of the Germans, the latter that of the Jews.

* Many think that without this immigration from the country the pure London-bred population could not survive beyond the second or third generation.

Of all these hostile influences that of the provincial factory is, in the writer's opinion, the most pernicious, since being best withstood by the socially deleterious but economically advantageous small workshop, "it not only depresses London labour, but depresses it in its best form, and favours its worst features." The true though drastic remedy will doubtless be found in the transference of London trade, now actually taking place, to provincial centres where it can thrive in more socially healthy conditions. This inevitable depletion of the overgrown and plethoric metropolis, cannot, however, be effected save at the cost of much suffering and loss. The strength of the small masters' position lies in the resistance they are able to offer to this movement from the perfect economy of labour attained through the very evils of their system. Their utilitarian organization of misery is the sorry bulwark of London trade against the ever rising tide of distant competition, and the extinction, not the improvement, of that trade will be the result of their disappearance. Thus that scapegoat of indignant philanthropy, the East End sweater, represents the last phase of a period of transition, and the Nemesis that overtakes him will sweep away much beside.

The same pressure that crushes artisan life in the metropolis, is felt under varying conditions by the unskilled labour of the docks. Here we have in sharp contrast that association of luxury and squalor which dramatizes to the imagination the complex structure of society—on the one hand all that constitutes London the modern *El Dorado*, the toll-gate of the world's commerce, the treasure-house of the world's wealth; on the other, that despairing battle for work and bread, that shabby lottery of indigence with a day's pittance as its prize, which forms the dark obverse to the glittering pageant of civilization. We turn from navies laden with the tribute of the East and of the West, from the tropical treasure of the spice loft and the ivory floor, to the struggling mob at the dock-gates—not the less piteous because in the world's sense perhaps undeserving of pity—the social sediment formed by the hopeless residuum of labour, the cast-off incapables of all other ways of life. Here gather the unchartered wanderers in the debateable land between poverty and crime: dilapidated intelligence elbowing hereditary ruffianism, the country tramp, the London casual, the professional beggar in the dull season of his more legitimate calling, the graduate of the gaols in the brief recesses between his terms of seclusion. For dock and waterside employment generally form the only sphere where muscle, unencumbered with morality, is a merchantable commodity, and where thews and sinews require no certificates of character to give them a market value.

The recent strike at the docks brought home to the consciousness of West London a startled sense of the precariousness of the artificial conditions of its daily life. Dives realized for the first time that he revels in purple and fine linen solely by favour of the squalid Lazarus at his gates. Few people in ordinary times cast a thought on the complex machinery constantly employed in the task of provisioning the great metropolis, or reflect on the army of carriers incessantly engaged in providing for the commissariat of its army of consumers. The general revolt of labour, promulgated by the leaders of the strike in the manifesto of August 30, would have reduced London to famine in a time measurable by the daily rations for its population, represented by its stored supplies of food. Fortunately the authors of the decree exaggerated their own power, and the threat, which could never have been more than a *brutum fulmen*, was retracted under pressure of public opinion. Its moral effect was to picture the West End as a community of drones, dependent for all that constitutes the physical basis of existence on the swarming hive of workers in the East.

The supplies of London are mainly sea-borne, and thus the needs of its own vast population combine, with its position as a great distributive centre, to render it the greatest port in the world. The number of ships which entered and cleared from it in the year 1888 was 79,000, or 216 for every day, including Sunday. Although its imports are enormously in excess of those of Liverpool, the figures for that year being respectively £138,183,000 and £97,235,000, with £387,635,000 as the total of the United Kingdom, its exports fall below those of its northern rival, being only £50,211,000 to the £97,187,000 of the latter, with the British total at £283,842,000. While the Mersey port depends mainly on the Atlantic trade, that of the Thames is the great emporium of the Australian and Indian. The tea trade, with the exception of a very insignificant fraction, comes altogether to the metropolis, which also monopolizes the continental traffic, Liverpool being too unfavourably situated to compete for it.

Although neither the iron nor the cotton manufacture, the two great industries of the country, has its seat in London, it is a considerable centre of various other forms of production. Chemicals, including drugs, dyes and dyeing stuffs, hemp, jute, leather, glass, artificial manures, painters' colours, oils, paper, straw hats, candles, &c., are all manufactured there, and it is for all the chief, and for some of these products, the only port of distribution. Wool, too, the staple of the industries of Bradford, is almost exclusively imported *viâ* London, where is held the only

large wool market of the United Kingdom.* The accommodation afforded to shipping on the Thames by its double line of water frontage is extended by a great area of dock-basin, almost exclusively the growth of the present century. The opening of the West India Docks at the Isle of Dogs in 1802 was followed by that of the London Docks at Wapping in 1805, of the East India Docks at Blackwall in 1806, and of the St. Katharine's Docks east of the Tower in 1828. To these were added in 1855 the Victoria Docks, to which the Albert extension in 1880 gave an added water space of seventy acres, the Millwall Docks opened at the Isle of Dogs in 1868, and the recently constructed Tilbury Docks, intended to give accommodation at the mouth of the Thames to ocean steamers. The London Docks, on the left bank of the river, cover an aggregate area of 465 acres of water and 1472 of land. The Commercial Docks, dating from 1696, but reconstructed in 1807, and the Surrey Docks, added in 1812, give a united area on the south shore of 330 acres between land and water.

Favoured by charters and exclusive privileges, the docks, in the first half-century of their existence, enjoyed a monopoly of the London trade. The wharves, its first recipients, fell into decay, and it was only after 1850, when all vexatious restrictions were swept away, that their old life began to revive. Waterside premises once more rose in value, and the long line of quay and wharf now stretching from London Bridge to the Woolwich marshes, gradually replaced the odd jumble of dilapidated tenements previously lining the shore. Despite the inconveniences of midway transfer of cargo, whether at the quay side, or by means of lighterage in mid-stream, the competition of the wharves, now ninety in number, has of late years been pressing severely on the docks, and the owners of the latter have been driven to meet it by increased use of labour-saving machinery, as a substitute for the more costly work of human hands. Miss Beatrice Potter, in her article on "The Docks," embodied in Mr. Booth's volume, describes, as follows, the various functions performed by the latter :—

Dock labour in London is, properly speaking, the employment offered by the import trade. In the export trade the shipowners contract directly with a body of skilled men called *stevedores*, for whose work the dock company are in no way responsible. These men act under master *stevedores*, and are the only section of dock or waterside workmen who have formed themselves into a *trades' union*.

The import work of the docks consists of five operations. In the first instance, the sailing vessel or steamer enters the dock in charge

* *The Times*, September 2, 1889.

of the transport gang, and is placed in the proper berth for discharging. In old days there she would have waited until it suited the dock company to pay her some attention. Now, at whatever time of day, and in case of steamers, at whatever time of night, the vessel settles into her berth, the ship-gangers with their men swarm on to her decks and into her hold. Then begins the typical dock labour—work that any mortal possessed of will and sinew can undertake. The men run up and down like the inhabitants of an ant-hill burdened with their cocoons, lifting, carrying, balancing on the back, and throwing the goods on the quay. It is true that in the discharge of grain and timber, special strength or skill is required. With timber, a growth on the back of the neck, called a "hummie," the result of long friction, is needful to enable a man to balance a plank with any degree of comfort. But timber and grain are, in East London, practically confined to the Millwall Docks, and it will be seen that more difficulty in the work means a higher class of men, and in the case of timber porters, of a body of men who stand outside the competition of low class labour. Now, leaving the dock quay, we watch the warehousing gang. Here, again, it is heavy, unskilled work. To tip a cask, sack, or bale on to a truck, and run it into a warehouse or down into a vault, or on to the platform of a crane, to be lifted by hydraulic power into an upper chamber, is the rough and ready work of the warehousing gang. Next, under the direction of the warehouse or vault keeper, the goods are stowed away, awaiting the last and final operation. For the dock company not only shelter the wares committed to their charge, but prepare them for sale, and in some instances make them "merchantable." A large body of coopers mend the casks and plug them, after Government officials have tested the strength of their contents, the company's foremen sort and sample all articles for the importing merchant, and in some cases operate on the goods under his directions. For instance sugar is bulked that has been partially "washed," rum vatted, coloured, and reduced to standard strength. It is in these various operations that the docks prove their capacity for absorbing all kinds and degrees of human faculty. The well-educated failure, that unlucky production of the shallow intellectualism of our Board schools, can earn 5*d.* an hour as tally-clerk, setting down weights and measures and copying invoices; aged men and undeveloped boys are equal to the sorting and cleaning of spices, while the "wools" and the "teas" attract the more vigorous class of irregular labour, for the sales of these articles take place at certain fixed periods of the year, and the employment dependent on those sales is heavy, worked under pressure for time, and during long hours.

The docks, in these various capacities, give employment, though of a very uncertain and fluctuating character, to an army, 50,000 strong, divided, like other armies, into several grades of efficiency. The permanent staff, earning regularly about 25*s.* a week, stand at the top of the list, next come the preference men, or "Royals," recognized as having the first claim for extra

employment, while lowest of all are the casual labourers, about 10,000 in number, competing for job-work, which would suffice, if evenly distributed throughout the year, to give regular employment to perhaps 3000. The conditions of the work have been revolutionized, and its daily fluctuations increased, although its distribution throughout the year is somewhat equalized by the general substitution of steam for sailing vessels. Instead of the fleets of the latter, brought by certain winds, or arriving at certain seasons of the year, and supplying continuous work for weeks and months, we have now steamers which come and go irrespective of wind or tide, and whose owners will only submit to the briefest possible detention. Hence, a tonnage that would formerly have taken days and weeks to unload, is now discharged in a day and night, worked continuously and at high pressure, and the necessity is established for the command, at a moment's notice, of an indefinite supply of that emergency labour, the demand for which at the docks is one of the great factors of demoralization in East London. The starving mob who climb on each other's shoulders in the fight for front places at the dock gates, is one of the ugly facts of our commercial system, whose competitive principle here translates itself into the wild beast struggle for existence between man and man.

Rise early [says Miss Potter] and watch the crowd at the St. Katharine's, or the West and East India Dock gates. The bell rings, the gate opens, and the struggling mass surge forward into the docks. The foremen and contractors stand behind the chain, or in the wooden boxes. The "ticket men" pass through, and those constantly preferred are taken on without dispute. Then the struggle for the last tickets begins. To watch it, one would think it was life and death to those concerned. But Jack having secured a ticket by savage fight, sells it to needier Tom for twopence, and goes off with the coppers to drink or to gamble. Or if the flush of business forces the employers to "clear the gates," many of those who on a slack morning would be most desperate in their demand for work, will break off after they have earned sufficient for a pint of beer and a pipe of tobacco and a night's lodging. Or take a day which offers no employment—watch the crowd as it disperses. The honest worker, not as yet attracted by the fascinations of East End social life, will return to his home with a heavy heart: there he will mind the baby while his wife seeks work; or, if not entirely hopeless, he trudges wearily along the streets searching vainly for permanent work. But the greater part of the crowd will lounge down the waterside, and stand outside the wharf and dock gates. As the day draws on, the more respectable element will disappear, while its place will be taken by the professional "cadger" and dock lounge. These men would work at no price. They gain their livelihood by petty theft, by cadging the earnings of their working friends, through gambling or drink, and by charitable

assistance. I very much fear that these are the recipients of the free breakfasts with which the well-to-do West End, in times of social panic, soothes its own conscience and calms its own fears. But apart from this semi-criminal class, the staple of the dock and waterside population subsisting by means of the extreme fluctuation and irregularity of employment, is made up of those who are either mentally or physically unfit for worthful or persistent work. These men hang about for the "odd hour," or work one day in the seven. They live on stimulants and tobacco, varied by bread and tea and salt fish. Their passion is gambling. Sections of them are hereditary casuals; a larger portion of them drift from other trades. They have a constitutional hatred to regularity and forethought, and a need for paltry excitement. They are late risers, sharp-witted talkers, and, above all, they have that agreeable tolerance for their own and each other's vices which seems characteristic of a purely leisure class, whether it lies at the top or bottom of society.

The part played by dock labour in acting as a magnet to this floating and drifting mass of social wreckage, renders it one of the chief deteriorating influences in East London. Its very uncertainty is an attraction to the class for whom it is adapted, giving some of the zest of gambling to the daily competition for bread. More promising raw material for any form of socialistic movement could not be found than in these Bashi-Bazouks of the regular army of industry. The rate of wages prevailing previous to the recent strike was the result of similar action on their part in 1872, when the casuals of the London, St. Katharine's, and East and West India Docks, were successful in enforcing their demand of 5*d.* an hour instead of the half-crown a day previously earned. This advance in the price of labour, however, proved, as it often does, an incentive to greater economy in its use, and was followed not only by an increased employment of machinery, but by the introduction of contract work, under which it becomes more efficient. If the essence of the sweating system consists in its levying an intermediate profit on the organization of labour, it cannot be denied that it has been in full force at the docks. Here, according to the evidence before the House of Lords' Committee, the original contract sometimes passes through as many as seven different hands before reaching those of its actual executor, the price of 1*s.* 8*d.* a ton, at which it was first allotted, being pared down in the process to 4½*d.*

A ship, on entering, is made over to one of these contractors, who having engaged to unload her at a fixed price per ton, employs a gang of workmen at the tariff price per hour. Should they, by extra energy and activity, complete the job in so short a time as to leave a margin between the cost of their labour and the contract price calculated by tonnage, this sum, called "plus,"

or surplus, is, or has been hitherto, divided among the regular hands, the foreman receiving a quadruple share. The permanent workmen had thus an interest in the efficiency of the work, while the casuals, over whom they acted as drivers or superintendents, had none, and the latter have successfully asserted their claim to be placed on equal terms with them in this respect.

The system of personal favour, purchased by bribes or treating, under which the work was allotted by contractors and foremen, was another ground of complaint, as was also the impossibility of ascertaining the real amount of the surplus due, since the actual contents of a ship cannot be calculated from her registered tonnage. The head and front of the offending of the system was, however, probably contained in the admission of one of the working-men witnesses before the Committee, that it was injurious, not so much by diminishing wages as by diminishing work, a smaller number of hands being required under it to execute a given job, and the sum of employment available being proportionally restricted. Labour was rendered at once more arduous and more efficient by a minute system of supervision combined with an appeal to the self-interest of its leaders.

The total abolition of this contract system, and an advance in the rate of wages of from 5*d.* to 6*d.* per hour, and from 6*d.* to 8*d.* for overtime, were, together with a minimum payment of 2*s.* to the extra hands, the principal demands formulated by the workmen in the recent strike. Peremptorily insisted on in a letter dated August 13, written by Mr. Tillet to a warehouse-keeper in the South West India Dock, these claims when not conceded were supported immediately by a general turn-out of the hands. Although those aggrieved were but the casual or extra labourers, these were followed, not alone by the permanent dock workers, who had no grievance of their own, but by the miscellaneous horde of waterside *employés*—lightermen, porters, stevedores, bargees, and all denominations of carriers and transport men. This great coalition of labour, reinforcing the demand of a particular class, is a new and alarming feature of the chronic dispute between capital and wages. It utterly paralysed the trade of the port of London, and threw on the streets an army of from 80,000 to 100,000 strong, to which the discontented dockers contributed a contingent of but 4000 to 5000.

Equally remarkable with the unanimity of labour, were the divisions in the ranks of capital when confronted with it. While a large section of the wharfingers on the one hand sought to make separate terms with the men, the shipowners, on the other, brought severe pressure to bear on the dock-directors to allow them to contract for the necessary work themselves. Thus the original dispute was complicated by the secondary disturbances it created

in the general relations of trade. Not less noteworthy was the public sympathy with the strikers felt in all parts of the world, which, taking the practical form of large remittances of money, enabled them to continue the struggle with comparatively little privation or suffering. This feeling would have been intelligible had it been a case in which labour claimed a just share in large profits, but as the dock companies, even as it is, pay no dividend to their shareholders, the latter, with a labour-bill about to be increased by from £30,000 to £70,000 per annum, would seem to be the worthier objects of pity. The directors, thus deserted by their brother capitalists and the public at large, had no alternative save an honourable capitulation; the terms demanded were conceded from the date of November 4, and work was resumed, not without some symptoms threatening disturbances in the future, on Monday, September 16.

The strike, which had lasted in its active form for four weeks, has inflicted incalculable loss on the trade of London and all classes connected with it. It is said to have cost the metropolis, roughly speaking, not far from £2,000,000, the loss to the industries chiefly concerned having amounted to £70,000 a day. Dock share and debenture holders have had their property depreciated to the extent of another £1,000,000, these securities having fallen in no case less than 4, and generally as much as from 6 to 8 per cent. The general stagnation has been felt in industries quite unconnected with the shipping trade, and a blow has been dealt to the prosperity of London from which it will take long to recover. The higher rates which the dock companies must necessarily charge to shipping will drive it to seek a cheaper port, and though such a result may prove a corrective to the tendency to over-concentration displayed in the growth of London, the change cannot be effected save at a heavy cost of human suffering.

Nor is any permanent improvement in the position of the dock labourers themselves likely to ensue from the victory they have gained. Scarcity of work, not lowness of wages, was their real grievance against society, and the increased competition induced by higher pay will probably far outweigh the advantages accruing from the latter. Trade, too, it must be remembered, like the fowl that laid the golden eggs, may be destroyed, but not forced beyond its normal rate of productiveness, and the suffering caused by any interference with its functions falls most heavily on the lowest ranks of its hierarchy. A too-successful strike of ship carpenters some years ago finally drove the ship-building trade of the Thames to its northern rivals, the Clyde and Tyne, and the triumph proved most disastrous to those who achieved it. Should the dock strike produce any permanent effect in diverting

the trade of London elsewhere, its consequences will first recoil on the heads of those who promoted or took part in it. The readjustments of the great commercial machine are as remorseless as the revolutions of the wheels of Juggernaut's car in crushing the human victims it encounters on its path.

But to Catholics at least, the great struggle will remain associated with a pleasing recollection—that of the part played in it by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster. Not so much to his high ecclesiastical dignity as to his kindly human sympathy for all, but more especially for the poor of the great city, was due the personal influence which triumphed when all other advocates of conciliation had withdrawn in despair. Thus to him alone remains the glory of having played the part, so strangely fallen to a Roman Cardinal, of arbitrator between classes, as an Englishman among Englishmen, in the dispute which will be long remembered as the great strike of 1889.

E. M. CLERKE.

II. THE GREAT STRIKE AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

MOST of us have followed with more or less interest the course of the great strike among the dock labourers of London, in which, at times, as many as 100,000 workmen were engaged, and which shut up for four weeks the great emporium of the world. It is to be hoped that so determined a conflict may have opened the eyes of many of us to the necessity of paying attention to social questions and the serious consequences of neglect; and they may ask, What is the significance of this outbreak, and what are the rights of the case? I will try as clearly as I can to answer their question, and to point the moral of this strange story.

Now, first, there seems a general consent that the condition of the dock labourers was very miserable, and that they were justified in such of their demands as have actually been granted to them. On the further question—whose fault it was that they were in such distress—opinions differ; but the fact of their distress remains unquestioned. First and foremost they suffered from "sweating," that is, the dock companies, for a large portion of the work, instead of directly dealing with the dock labourers, habitually sublet it to middlemen. A ganger, as he was called, contracted with one of the dock companies for a

particular job, and made his profit out of the difference between the sum he received for the job and the wages he paid his labourers. His interest was to drive on the men to the utmost exertion of which they were capable, and to pay them the least possible sum. He was bound indeed, as the result of a previous strike, to pay a minimum rate of 6*d.* an hour; but this provision was rather nominal than real, the unfortunate labourers having often, it seems, to pay some sort of blackmail in order to secure employment. The misery of working under these low-class and unscrupulous sub-contractors may be so far expressed in figures as requiring, according to the men's estimate, an additional payment of at least 25 per cent. if it was to be endured at all. This abuse, at any rate, has been made an end of by the strike, one of the terms of settlement being that all contract work be abolished by the 4th of November at the latest. But there remains the more inveterate evil of uncertainty of employment, to remedy which the strike has, by comparison, done little. The permanent staff of the docks, including among them the labourers permanently employed, are far outnumbered by the casual labourers, who are taken on in numbers that vary immensely from day to day, and varied, before the strike, from hour to hour.* This last evil indeed is now abolished, and a man may no longer now be taken on in the morning and discharged, with no chance of any fresh work that day, at the end of one or two hours, with only 6*d.* or 1*s.* pay; for now he must receive at least 2*s.* pay. But the vast uncertainty remains of any employment at all; and at the docks alone the number of these casual labourers employed varies from 3000 to 15,000, besides the numbers of precarious workers at the riverside wharfs, where the proportion of casual and permanent employment is about the same as at the docks. A miserable crowd wait daily at the gates for employment; no questions are asked about antecedents, no character required. The strongest are chosen, or those (and this abuse, as far as I can see, has not been wholly removed by the strike) who are known by unscrupulous foremen to be ready to "stand a drink" or pay back a percentage of their rightful wages. No system more fatal to a steady life could be well imagined, nor one more wholly removed from the Christian view of the relations of master and servant. Forced association with the lowest members of society, alternations of overwork and doing nothing, wages totally inadequate to their needs, have been the lot of the best of these casual labourers. Miss Potter, in the essay on the docks, published in

* An intermediate and smaller class, between regular hands and unmitigated casuals, are the men called "Royals" at one dock and ticket-men at another, who have a claim to be preferred to the casuals for employment if it is to be had.

Mr. Booth's recent volume on "The Labour and Life of the People," reckons the average earnings throughout the year of the better class of casual labourer at from 12s. to 15s. a week, out of which, if he is married, some 3s. to 4s. 6d. a week has to be paid as rent for one single room. If unmarried, he generally lives in a common lodging-house, in either case exposed by the circumstances of both his home and his work to be brutalized and degraded. Truly the demand for the extra penny an hour which the strikers fought for and gained was no extravagant compensation for their work in such surroundings.

So far we are perhaps mostly in agreement; but some may go farther, and exclaim: "Oh! the greed and cruelty of those dock directors to have treated their labourers like this! Oh! their wickedness and obstinacy in endangering the peace of London by their resistance! Oh, for a gallows to hang them up one after the other as a warning to greedy capitalists for all time!" But, for myself, I do not go thus far; being uneasy respecting the number of us who, if this rough and ready administration of justice were practised, might find the rope round our own necks. I see no reason to think the dock directors worse than other owners and managers of property, or to make them the scape-goats of popular indignation when they have but done as the rest, and practised what they have been taught. They are at worst only a little behind the age, and old-fashioned in their science and their practice. They were taught, like most of us, that the secret of business was to undersell our neighbours, and that the proper relation of a master to a workman was simply to buy his labour, like hides or tallow, at the cheapest rate at which it was procurable. It now appears that the carrying out of these maxims has not been a benefit either to employers or employed. The shareholders of the dock companies have had for some time past a painful lesson in the results of desperate competition; and we are beginning to see how much better it would have been for the employing and investing classes themselves, if all the docks had been amalgamated long ago and combined with the numerous riverside wharfs into a trust or syndicate for the whole port of London. But although the directors, by their "cutting of rates" and other mismanagement, may or may not deserve the censure of the shareholders, it is not for the general public to charge them with "criminal folly." And although, did we know our duties, the miserable state, physical and moral, of the dock labourers, would have been chargeable on the companies, including the shareholders, be it observed, as well as the directors, and both would have been held responsible; yet, as things are, this is a case, if ever there was one, for the plea of invincible ignorance.

The strike, then, we may say, was justified, the men's demands reasonable ; but the employers only so far wrong and unreasonable as being representatives of a wrong state of society and spokesmen of an irrational social science ; and the responsibility for the suffering which the strike caused and the danger of riot and bloodshed which it threatened, rests not with the company or the directors, still less with the men or their leaders, but with our society in general and with the perverse doctrines of political economy which have been prevalent among us for a century.

So far on the rights of the case. Now let us look at certain points of the strike that deserve our particular attention. I do not allude to the great numbers who came out on strike, numbers that may have been equalled on other occasions ; nor to the time the strike lasted, a time which has often been surpassed ; but I allude to other points, and they are five. First, the perfect organization of the strike among men who but a few months before, were not merely unorganized, but deemed incapable of cohesion and self-control, whereas now they showed themselves capable of continued obedience to their leaders and fidelity to each other amid difficult circumstances. Secondly, the great sympathy shown to the strikers by the public outside ; witness the moral support given them by a large section of the press, the action of many, if not most, of the Anglican clergy of the East End, the action of the pastors and officers of the Free Churches, of the Congregational ministers, of the Mayor of Birmingham, of the Australian democracy. And sympathy took the substantial form of subscriptions, some sixteen thousand pounds being received from England for the benefit of the strikers, and some twenty-four thousand from Australia. And I think these figures do not include the sums raised for the women and children, who were fed from thirteen centres, and six to seven thousand meals distributed daily by a well-organized system of relief under the care of one of the London Members of Parliament, Mr. Sydney Buxton. A third point is the support the dock labourers received from other workmen, stevedores, shipwrights, dock-weighers, sailors, firemen, lightermen, who struck out of sympathy with them, having no grievance, or immediate grievance of their own, and thereby testifying to a new sense of union among all the workers, and of brotherhood even with those who were most despised. And the appeal for a general strike of all the London workers, unless the dock directors yielded, though wisely withdrawn, shows by the mere fact of its being contemplated, how the former wall of separation between different sections of the working classes has been broken down. A fourth point is the peaceable and orderly behaviour of the strikers, 80,000 strong, with little to eat and nothing to do. To say there

was no intimidation or violence used towards those whom these men looked on as traitors, would be absurd and untrue; but, considering the multitudes on strike, their habitual conditions of life, their dwellings and surroundings, we must marvel at their discipline and patience, that no shops were pillaged, no damage done to the property of the docks, not one pane of glass broken in the houses of their most unpopular opponents. How long indeed this moderation would have continued if the strike had been protracted, if there had been no funds to distribute, if the relief had not been so well managed, if the action of the police had not been directed with such admirable tact, and if no mediators had intervened, is another matter. And this brings us to the fifth point. The bitterness of the strike was softened, and its end finally brought about by the interposition of peacemakers, who could neither use threats nor promises, but had to rely simply on the moral influence they could exercise. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, accompanied by Alderman Sir Andrew Lusk (acting for the Lord Mayor), called on the Dock Committee, and endeavoured to induce them to grant the demands of their workmen. This not succeeding, a little later the Lord Mayor called a committee of conciliation, comprising, besides himself, the Cardinal Archbishop, the Protestant Bishop of London, Lord Brassey (President of the London Chamber of Commerce), Sir John Lubbock, Sir Andrew Lusk, and Mr. Sydney Buxton. The first efforts of this committee seemed crowned with success; for they enabled the directors to yield with better grace a point that they had refused before, and thus in fact to concede the bulk of the workmen's demands. But as these concessions were not deemed sufficient by the men, and were rejected, there seemed an end of conciliation, and humiliation to those who had intervened: in reality, the most interesting scene of the strike was at hand; for the Cardinal Archbishop, by no means despairing at the failure, went alone to meet the delegates, sixty or more, of all concerned in the strike; and such was the influence he exerted in that long and memorable interview, that he got their consent to the compromise that their wages should not be raised at once, but after an interval of some seven weeks: and this compromise he induced the Joint Committee of the Dock Companies to accept, and brought the strike to an end.

Now, in the course and issue of this great strike, let us say at once there is much matter for congratulation. First of all, in the position of the dock labourers themselves a great change for the better has been secured. Their pay is more in accordance with their necessities, the extreme uncertainty of their employment has been lessened by the rule that a man must be taken on

for at least four hours at a time, and, above all, the oppression of the workmen by parasitical intermediaries has been made an end of—the sweating system abolished. Moreover, by the spread of their trades' unions to those who previously were not members, their future position is rendered more secure. Then, secondly, many other classes of labourers have gained a better position, their employers, with the example of the great strike before them, being readier to grant any reasonable request. Thus, the gas-stokers at Beckton and Kingston, the carmen employed by the Post Office, the printers' machinists, the grain-carriers at Liverpool, the labourers at certain great works, and others, have gained better terms, and, in general, all branches of underpaid labour have been encouraged by the struggles and success of the dock-labourers to try to get for themselves also a better position. Thirdly, we must congratulate ourselves on the decay of the old delusions of an effete political economy, that the business of the employer was to buy labour in the cheapest market, and that it was the business of no one else to interfere between him and his workmen; that strikes always did the workmen harm, and that trades' unions never did them any good. Language of this sort was to be found, indeed, in some organs of the press, but was exceptional, whereas, not so long ago it would have been universal. Lastly, by far the greatest cause for rejoicing is the evidence given in this great commotion of the power of the good forces among us. Imagine a strike of this magnitude on the Continent, in which there would be no troops called out, and not merely no collision between the police and the strikers, but not even any friction. What a contrast to the great strike of the miners in Westphalia a few months ago. There, too, public sympathy was mainly with the men, but what an inefficacious sympathy; for it was the Government that intervened, and, as a sort of counterweight to the pressure put on the mine-owners to treat their men better, some forty of the strike-leaders were cast into prison. Again, in this London strike, the acknowledgment by the labourers of a moral, as distinct from physical, force, and their recognition of their true friends is a welcome sign. I do not think if 100,000 of the poorest workmen in Paris or Berlin were on strike that they would consent to hear, and still less to follow, the advice of a Roman prelate. But this is what the London workmen have done, and advertised the truth that the Church is capable of dealing successfully with all social questions if only she is given the opportunity.

But there is another aspect to this great movement which is not so pleasant, and may justly cause dissatisfaction and alarm. This side also I must point out, and then draw as best I can

a practical conclusion. First, the position of the dock labourers themselves, though much better than it was, is only good by comparison. The wages, indeed, in comparison with the work to be done, may be considered fair enough;* but the two great evils remain, of which one has been but little remedied, the other not at all—the first, the uncertainty of employment and the corresponding absence of provision for sickness and old age; the other, the absence of those essentials to a happy life: decent homes procurable, and wholesome recreation. Their position, in short, is not such as we can wish them to sit down quietly and endure. Nor are they likely to, and this brings us to another disquieting feature of the strike. It is looked on by leaders and men not as a fight that is finished, but as the beginning of greater things. Mr. John Burns, the main leader of the strike, is reported to have said to the assembled workmen that he hoped this victory was the precursor of more important victories in the near future; that the skirmish they had won was only preliminary to bigger battles and better successes to be obtained through the better organization they were going to have in the future; that if they acted wisely, intelligently and soberly, he knew nothing that by combination they could not secure. And these are not empty threats. The fact that a general strike of all the London workmen could be seriously contemplated, that actually many well-to-do workmen struck out of sympathy with the dock labourers, and that the leaders were able to command the sinews of war in the shape of large sums of money, points to a new force, quite unlike that of old-fashioned trades' unions, who have become part of our social system, and recognized as orderly and useful.

* The old and new scale of wages are as follows:—

Old Scale (no deduction of pay for meal time.)		New Scale.	
	s. d.		s. d.
Ordinary earnings 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. at 5d. an hour	3 4	Ordinary earnings 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. at 6d. an hour	4 0
		Less half-an-hour for dinner	0 3
			3 9
Overtime earnings 8 A.M. to midnight, 10 hours at 5d. an hour	4 2	Overtime earnings 8 A.M. to midnight, 10 hours at 6d. an hour	5 0
Six hours at 6d. an hour	3 0	Six hours at 8d. an hour	4 0
	7 2		9 0
		Less two hours for dinner, tea, and supper	1 2
			7 10

But what is the harm of the new organization? Were not terrible things prophesied about trades unions? Were they not called all sorts of bad names? And have not those prophecies turned out nightmares, and those black sheep turned into popular favourites? Why should not the same happy metamorphosis in public opinion happen again? And have I not admitted that the position of the dock labourers even as amended is intolerable? Can I deny that it is a scandal in a Christian State? And did not Mr. Burns, after the very words I have quoted from him, go on to give some most excellent advice to the dock labourers to improve themselves educationally and to treat their families well? Am I disquieted at this? No, not at this, nor at any immediate prospect of riots by the unemployed, socialistic uprisings, or universal strikes. But the signs that I have called disquieting are such because they indicate the danger in the immediate future, not of anarchy, but of State Socialism. Every day brings fresh proofs that the era of competition and individualism is passing away; that the time of reorganization is at hand. The question is whether the reorganization is to be Christian or Socialistic; and we are being pressed by two forces in the socialistic direction. One is the intellectual supremacy of Germany, which holds sway over Italy, America, and England, nay, even indirectly over France, and indoctrinates us, among other things, with its social science, and its social science may be summed up as Cæsarism in politics and State Socialism in economics. Hence an educated body of men is rising up among us to do the literary part in an industrial revolution. Then there is the second force in our vast body of electors, who are daily becoming more prone to socialistic doctrines; and among the old trades' unionists who are more or less divided, the success of the London strike will have given a vast impetus to the socialistic party. And by socialistic I mean State-socialistic; and by this I mean that the Government and its functionaries take the place and wither up the efficiency of the family, of the master, of the trade guild, and of the church, by providing for the sick, the infirm, the aged, for those out of work, for those disabled by accident, for widows and orphans, and also by providing education for the people, recreation for the people, homes for the people. Instead of strengthening the natural organs by whom in a healthy state of society these things should be provided, and seeing that they fulfil their duties, Cæsar does them all himself, and removes at a stroke half the good things of life, innumerable ties of friendship and gratitude, vast fields for moral influence, for devoted self-sacrifice, for the service of the poor by the rich, for the defence of the weak by the strong. But in saying the State and its officials will provide all those things mentioned

just now, I made a mistake. They will profess and attempt it, and thereby stand in the path of others, but in the provision itself their performances will be lamentably short of their promises. They cannot alter the nature of men and things; and in civilized society the greater portion must work hard and receive little. Hence State Socialism is no condition of equilibrium, no solution of the social question, but only a phase of it. Disillusion will follow quickly on its heels; more and more funds will be needed for the ever-growing needs; more and more will have to be drawn by progressive taxation or some other means from the shrinking possessions of the rich; they will be driven to self-defence, and the high road will be opened to civil war and national decay.

The reasonable cause of disquietude, therefore, is the possibility of a course of socialistic legislation: our pressing duty, to avert it. That it can be averted I believe, or I would not waste time in this discussion. And the best ground for this belief is the power and vigour of the good forces among us, some of which I have already spoken of as brought into evidence by the recent strike. The enthusiasm shown for the memory and views of social reform of Arnold Toynbee, the gifted young lecturer at Oxford on Political Economy, who died prematurely eight years ago; the interest of so many young men of the Universities in the welfare of the poorer classes; the foundation of an Oxford House in the East End, with affiliated branches; the great increase, not so much in the practice as in the interest shown by economists in courts of arbitration and conciliation between masters and workmen;* the continued observance of Sunday as a day of rest; and if not the practice of religion, at least the respect for it among so many of our workmen, are all signs to encourage us, and pledges of a better future. Only we must act, lest the bad forces get the upper hand. And we must act by legislation and by combination. By legislation, I say; for one of the best antidotes to the State doing what it ought not, is to see that it does not leave undone what it ought to do. So, then, let us have a vigorous extension of the Factory Acts to all workpeople in need of them; certificate of fitness for employers and foremen in all trades affecting health; responsibility of all joint-stock companies, and perhaps, large employers, for the decent dwellings of their workmen and their insurance against accident, sickness, want of work, or old age; let us have homestead laws, securing the family in the possession of its home; and other laws protective of the poorer members of society, and making, as far as possible, an end

* See the interesting volume by Mr. Price on "Industrial Peace," published by the Toynbee Trustees in 1887, and the preface by Professor Marshall. Also the discussions at the British Association in September of this year.

of casual labour without in the least putting the State in the place that ought to be filled by masters and employers, by landowners and capitalists, by trade associations of all kinds, by the members of Christian families and by the messengers of Christian charity. And then let us direct into a proper channel the great movement towards combination. We are not quite ready yet for the religious *syndicats mixtes* of masters and workmen established by the Comte de Mun and the hope of the future for France; but we are on the road. When we see the fraternization of many members of the upper class with the workmen,* when the possibility of fixing fair wages, fair prices and fair rents, is becoming more and more acknowledged, when there exist in working order boards of conciliation which for years past have settled the most complicated scales and variations of payment among thousands of workmen, we may fairly hope that at no very distant date a large proportion of our working-classes may be re-organized in trade guilds suitable to the times. And there are three essential conditions to such guilds. First, they must comprise both masters and men, and by the joint deliberation of the two well-informed and interested parties, the various details of the hours and conditions of work, the amount of wages, and the training of apprentices will be settled. Secondly, they must possess a common fund to provide insurance against sickness, accident, old age, and against periods of bad trade and slack work. It would follow as a necessary consequence no member would be liable to arbitrary dismissal, but would enjoy fixity of tenure of his industrial office. Thus a vast body of our people would cease to be a proletariat having only, as the vile phrase runs, "their labour to sell." They would be members of a great organization, and would hold a position of comparative security, from which only their own gross misconduct could displace them; and they thus would have a stake in the country and a direct interest in our national welfare.

But the most beautifully constructed machinery will not work without oil, and in the moral no less than in the material order there is need of a lubricant. Hence a third condition is necessary for the working of trade guilds if they are to act as a solution of our social troubles: there must be the spirit of agreement on both sides. And this means that religion must come in and play its part, and influence the dispositions of both masters and men. Nothing else will do. Appeals to enlightened self-interest touch the head but not the heart; and it is the heart we have to move.

* Observe how, after the strike was over, a banquet was given at the Toynbee Hall by the residents and Warden to some sixty or seventy members of the Strike Committee, and speeches were made by Mr. Burns, Mr. Tillet, and Mr. Mann.

Else with his wits sharpened by book-learning and his hand armed with the ballot, the workman is a ready pupil and agent of Socialism, and by no means only the badly fed and worse housed; for the fact of being by comparison well off, as, for example, the ironworkers of Cardiff, the hardware artisans at Birmingham, and the cotton spinners at Oldham, is no security, as history may teach us, for contentment. The crumbs of wealth, culture and leisure which they enjoy may only serve to whet their appetite for a fuller meal. Nor are the manifold inequalities in the good things of this life ever to be made tolerable to them or to any one by arguments, only by religion; if it comes to arguing, nothing is more easy to prove than the reasonableness of transferring money from other people's pockets to your own. And the methods of State Socialism are ready at hand to carry out the dictates of envy and discontent. Therefore if some of my readers hesitate whether it is now a time for the clergy to come forward as mediators and take a leading and permanent part in the relations of masters and workmen, I will ask them whether they understand the alternative. It is not a question of intervention or non-intervention, but only of who is to intervene. If the spiritual power does not occupy the field, the civil power will; if the gentle spirit of religion is kept away, the inevitable work of reorganization will be done by the armed hand of organized force. Hence the propaganda of infidelity, whether amid scientific trappings for the upper classes, or in the shape of atheistical Malthusianism for the lower, is a propaganda of State Socialism, however much particular champions of infidelity may happen to preach *laissez-faire*. And conversely those who are earnest in what religion they know and are yet deluded into advocating State Socialistic measures, are not really promoters of State Socialism; for they sell their poison safely neutralized by an antidote.

The lesson then of the great strike is that the social question is a religious question; that we have to choose in England between the Pagan and the Christian State, and it is a significant fact and an earnest of triumph for the right side, that the very same prelate of the Holy Roman Church who has just allayed this great social conflict without the shadow of physical force, should have stood up on another occasion some years ago as our champion against the new Leviathan of the omnipotent State, worse than the ancient one devised by Hobbes; and in his writings on Cæsarism and Ultramontaniam should have made a brilliant defence of our faith and our liberty.

C. S. DEVAS.

Science Notices.

The Orbit of Sirius.—The discovery of Sirius as a double star makes one of the most curious incidents in astronomical history. Bessel noticed in 1834 that the star advanced across the sky along an undulating line, as if its "proper motion" were complicated by revolution, once in fifty years or thereabouts, in an apparently very small orbit. It was not until January 31, 1862, that Alvan Clark, of Boston, found the object producing these disturbances nearly in the place assigned to it by M. Auwers's calculations. The satellite of Sirius is at all times difficult to see, partly on account of its faintness, partly on account of the overpowering glare of its brilliant primary; but during the last three or four years it has become impossible, except with very powerful and perfect telescopes. The increasing vicinity of the two stars constitutes the growing obstacle to their distinct vision. They are creeping up towards a "periastron" passage, which, according to the latest authority, Mr. J. E. Gore, of Ballysodare, in Ireland, will not occur until 1896. Mr. Gore's "elements" for the Sirian orbit depend largely upon a recent measure of the pair made by Mr. Burnham with the great Lick refractor. They include a period of fifty-eight years, which is somewhat longer than that hitherto assigned to the Sirian revolutions; but the period of a double star cannot be lengthened without diminishing its mass or attractive power, which is determined by the rate at which the two bodies fall towards, or at a given distance circulate round, each other. For the stronger the central pull, the swifter must be the orbital velocity by which it is balanced. So that we can compare the mass of any binary system with that of the sun if we only know three things about it: first, the time in which a circuit is completed; next, the mean radius of the orbit; lastly, its distance from ourselves; and since information on all these points is available in the case of Sirius, it is easy to compute its gravitative power. On the basis of Mr. Gore's orbit and Dr. Gill's parallax showing that Sirius is so far off that its light occupies eight years and seven months in travelling to the earth, the combined mass of the star and its companion proves to be equal to that of three and a quarter suns, while their average distance apart is considerably greater than that which separates Uranus from the sun. There is a singular discrepancy in luminous power between the two bodies constituting this pair. The faint star, although it contains half as much matter as Sirius, emits only one four-thousandth part of its light. Its actual surface (supposing mean densities to be the same) is about five hundred times less lustrous than that of the sun. As a centre of radiation, it may be presumed to be verging towards the close of its career—that is, if suns do indeed *near out*. The effulgent object round which it

circulates possesses, on the other hand, much more than the solar brilliancy. Taken by itself, it would a little outweigh two suns, while it shines like sixty-nine. The sun in its place would appear as a star below the third magnitude. Thus, one square yard of the Sirian gives as much light as forty-three square yards of the solar photosphere. Nor can more than a small fraction of this difference be accounted for by the insignificance of absorption in the stellar atmosphere, as compared with the powerful *damping down* of sunlight by the action of the various metallic vapours through which it is filtered. We cannot escape from the conclusion that Sirius is at a vastly higher pitch of incandescence than the sun.

A Disrupted Comet.—On the 6th of last July, Mr. Brooks, a well-known American comet-hunter, discovered a small comet in the constellation Cetus. On the night of August 1, it was observed by Mr. E. E. Barnard, of the Lick Observatory, to have divided into three, the parent body being quite closely attended by two miniatures of itself, each with a needle-point of central condensation and a faint tail. Four nights later, two additional companions of a similar aspect were perceived, which have since proved to be very slowly retreating in a straight line from the originating nebulosity. On August 6, Professor Weiss, telegraphically informed at Vienna of the disruption, saw comet Brooks “quadruple” with a feebly luminous “cylinder,” still enveloping the fragments, and giving a semblance of unity to their association. It is not the first time that such observations have been made. Mr. Barnard noticed, on Oct. 14, 1882, the sky strewn, in the neighbourhood of the great comet of that year, with its nebulous débris, and has ever since watched for a recurrence of the phenomenon in other objects of the kind. His patience has at last been rewarded.

Brooks's comet belongs to the class of “short-period,” or “planetary” comets. It has become domesticated in the solar system. Its revolutions are conducted from west to east, in the same direction as those of the planets, and are completed with so much promptitude that the interval between one perihelion passage and the next is only seven years and a quarter; it never travels far from the ecliptic, and its path, for a body of its class, is of moderate eccentricity. The insignificance of its aspect is, no doubt, partly due to its perpetual remoteness from the sun. At its nearest approach to the great source of luminous excitement, it is still nearly twice as far off from it as the earth. Its next return will take place in the winter of 1896, when no doubt it will be the object of eager telescopic scrutiny, directed to ascertain, if possible, what progress it has made in the interval on the road towards complete disintegration. The fate of its scattered offspring, however, can probably never be actually certified, although it is more than probable that their materials, reduced to the condition of meteoric particles, will eventually strew the orbit pursued by the body from which they were separated.

The Coming Solar Eclipse.—Four separate expeditions—two

of them English and two American—are being fitted out for the observation of the total eclipse of December 22 next. Father Perry, S.J., will head the party sent by the Royal Astronomical Society to Cayenne, in South America; and there, too, will be stationed Messrs. Burnham and Schaeberle, despatched from the Lick Observatory at the expense of the Hon. C. F. Crocker, a member of the new and energetic "Astronomical Society of the Pacific." Their business, we understand, will be chiefly to secure photographs of the corona, one set with a view to investigating its structure, the other for the purpose of measuring its extent; and it is unlikely that Mr. Burnham will return from the southern hemisphere without having collected some interesting specimens of close southern double stars. The English expedition to Africa will be led by Mr. Taylor; the American, fitted out by the Navy Department at Washington, by Professor Todd, of Amherst College, who two years ago went to Japan on a similar errand, but was not exempt from the almost universal disaster of the luckless Russian eclipse. This time we sincerely hope that he may be more favoured. The station he has chosen (we read in *Nature*) lies about one hundred miles inland, on rising ground beyond the pestilential coast-region. Since a stay there of about two months will be necessary to get the elaborate instrumental outfit into perfect working order, the climate is a matter of no small importance. A telescope forty feet long, the largest ever employed in a research of the kind, giving a solar image four and a half inches across, will be used to photograph the successive phases of the eclipse, totality in which will last somewhat more than three minutes. If all go well, a hundred and fifty plates may be successfully exposed; but the points regarded by Professor Todd as of primary importance, are, first to obtain photographs from which the varying intensity of the coronal light in its different portions can be accurately measured; next to get the coronal spectrum printed from as many and as widely separated samples of its rays as possible. One of the results of photometrical investigations during the eclipse of January 1 last has been to reduce very low indeed the hope of photographing the corona in full daylight. Whatever chance we have of penetrating the secret of this mysterious and beautiful phenomenon thus depends upon exertions made during total obscurations, the importance of which has been, if possible, enhanced by the fruitless effort to dispense with them.

The Bruce Photographic Telescope.—Professor Pickering is a sort of Aladdin among astronomers. One doubts whether the genius of his lamp would take it ill if he even asked for a roc's egg. Certainly, any demand short of that outrageous one is sure to be granted. He has only to describe a scientific enterprise to ensure for it the patronage of some millionaire. His latest benefactor is Miss C. W. Bruce, of New York, who has come forward with a gift of fifty thousand dollars for the construction of a photographic telescope on the lines laid down in his Circular of last November by the Director of Harvard College Observatory. The

peculiarity of this instrument will consist in its object-glass, twenty-four inches in diameter, being of the compound form used by ordinary photographers. It will, in fact, be a "portrait-lens" on a gigantic scale. The two principal advantages of such a combination for celestial photographic purposes is that it gives a very short focus comparatively to aperture, and a very wide field of view. A short focus diminishes magnifying power; it gives small, excessively bright images, and hence enables impressions to be got of objects much fainter than could be reached with an instrument of equal light grasp, but of the ordinary construction. The Bruce telescope will be eleven feet long, and it is expected that stars down to the seventeenth magnitude can be photographed with it. Its effective explorations of space, in other words, will extend fully once and a half, if not twice, as far as the present limit. Its proposed site is on the summit of one of the mountains in southern California, where, perhaps, the best climatic conditions in the world are to be found; and the first task marked out for it is the charting of the entire sky from the North Pole to thirty degrees south of the equator. This might be done in one year, but it is thought safer to assign two for its thorough and satisfactory accomplishment. There are about 3600 hours of darkness in a year, half of which, even in the choice location fixed upon, must be given over to clouds and moonlight. But to cover three-quarters of the sky, 1200 plates, each taking in twenty-five square degrees, will be needed; and exposures of upwards of an hour will, probably, be found desirable. Time, besides, must inevitably be lost by the spoiling of plates through inopportune cloud-formation, accidents to clockwork, and so on. And the work will no sooner be finished than it must immediately be repeated for the verification of supposed discoveries; since the existence of no strange object can be regarded as fully authenticated unless it appear on at least two plates. The spectra of all the stars will next (should Professor Pickering's suggested programme be realized) be taken in the same way, and in an equal time, by merely covering the object-lens with a large prism; and, finally, operations will recommence *da capo*, with a view to detecting whatever changes may have intervened since their origination. "Moreover," Professor Pickering continues, "the improvement in photographic processes would, perhaps, be so great that a second series of plates would be desirable. The recent applications of erythrosin and other coal-tar products to photographic plates render them much more sensitive to red and yellow light. The difficulty of photographing satellites, asteroids, comets, nebulae, and red variable stars may therefore be diminished."

It is impossible even to conjecture the number of stars that will emerge to view on the charts executed with the Bruce telescope. That there will be many millions of them is a perfectly safe assertion; *how* many millions? is the question to be answered. A great deal depends upon the reply. It will tell us whether, at the inconceivable distance corresponding to the seventeenth stellar magnitude, the

stars are still strewn as thickly as in our comparatively near neighbourhood, or whether, on the contrary, they show signs of *thinning-out*. If the latter, then the verge of the sidereal world will have been reached or overpassed, and the smallest stars on the Bruce plates will have to be regarded either as the extreme outlying members of the system, or as suns somewhat below the average in size or splendour. There are many indications that the supply of seventeenth magnitude stars will prove sparse indeed, and that we shall find ourselves, by photographic means, startlingly confronted with the limit of the visible universe. Visible, that is, to us; of what lies beyond the chasm of space never to be crossed by denizens of the earth, we are, and must remain, profoundly ignorant. We only know that the power of the Creator falls in no way short of His wisdom.

Lightning Fatality.—The Royal Meteorological Society continue to devote untiring energy to the subject of thunderstorms. At no previous period has there been such concentrated study of this branch of atmospherical physics. Some of the latest efforts of the Society have been devoted to examining the fatalities of the lightning stroke. When Mr. Symonds read a paper before the Society in November last, on the results of an investigation of the phenomena of English thunderstorms during the years 1887-89, he roughly estimated the number of deaths from lightning in that space of time, adding that it was possible that the figures quoted might be considerably below the actual number. He suggested that it would be valuable to meteorological science if some Fellow of the Society, who had access to the returns of the Registrar-General, would go into the matter more accurately than he had done. This hint was taken by Mr. Robert Lawson, the Inspector-General of Hospitals, who happened to be a Fellow of the Society. He has gone very fully into the matter and lately laid his investigations before the Society. His statistics show that Mr. Symonds's estimate was indeed rough. For instance, Mr. Symonds gave five as the number for 1857. The actual number turns out to be eighteen. In this investigation it has been impossible to take the United Kingdom as the ground for survey, as in the returns of the Registrar-General for Scotland and Ireland the deaths from lightning are not given separately, so no information for these countries is available. Therefore the investigation is alone concerned with England and Wales from 1852 to 1880. This space of time is chosen because the deaths from lightning in England and Wales are shown in a separate form for the first time in the report for 1856, dating back to 1852, and consecutive reports up to 1880 contain a table of the total deaths from this cause for each year with details as to sex, age, registration district, locality, date of occurrence, &c. After 1880 the deaths are registered in the general table of diseases for males and females separately; therefore the investigation stops short at 1880.

In the twenty-nine years the deaths from this cause were 546. The annual number was by no means regular. In 1863 there were

three only, in 1864 there were six, in 1852 there were as many as forty-five. Mr. Robert Lawson thinks that numbers so limited do not afford a very good basis for generalization, and he adopts the plan of grouping them in periods of a series of years, so that "their irregularities may be neutralized to a certain extent and some useful indications arrived at." He gives us a table in which he groups the deaths in the three periods, 1852-60, 1861-70, 1871-80, for England, Wales, and for each of the eleven registration divisions. He gives us for each group the mean annual rate of these deaths on a population assumed at 10,000,000: (1) In England and Wales; (2) in each registration division; also the general mean of each for the period of twenty-nine years.

These figures show that the deaths in 1852-60 were 10.50. They fell in 1861-70 to 6.50, and rose again in 1871-80 to 9.54. The mean for the period is 8.79. Taking the eleven registration divisions separately, a corresponding fluctuation is found in five of the eleven divisions. The lowest ratio of deaths is the metropolis, which is 1.30. Next to this comes the division comprising the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall and Somerset, with a ratio of 5.58. Next, Cheshire and Lancashire, with a ratio of 6.63. The highest ratios are the counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, which have a ratio of 12.78; and Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham and Derby, which have a ratio of 18.02.

Mr. Lawson mentions the causes which seem to contribute to more or less immunity from the fatal effects of lightning—1. Rural districts, from their greater exposure, suffer more than towns; 2. Vicinity to the west and south coasts lessens the chances of accident. Distance from the coast and high situation increase them. The low ratio of London is very striking considering the density of its population. M. Flammarion has pointed out a similar low ratio for Paris, and thinks that it is explained by the presence of a great number of lightning conductors which dissipate the electric discharge. In the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Lawson's paper it was suggested that in large cities various agencies not primarily intended for lightning protectors helped in this dissipation, such as lamp-posts, metal pipes, even tall buildings devoid of lightning conductors. Of the 546 deaths, 442 or eighty-one per cent. were males; 104 or nineteen per cent. were females. The statistics as to age show that generally males between fifteen and twenty years of age were more exposed to risk. June and July appear to be the period of greatest risk.

Quartz Fibres.—Mr. C. V. Boys, by his researches into certain properties of quartz, has added largely to the resources of quantitative investigation. Up to the present the physicist in his attempts to measure by the torsion of wires and threads forces which to his bodily senses are inappreciable, has been handicapped by the grossness of the material that is twisted. There are certain qualities requisite in a torsion thread—fineness, elasticity, uniformity, and strength. In the substances that have been used for this purpose

these qualities have not co-existed in the same material. For example, spun glass, which is about $\frac{1}{1000}$ th of an inch in diameter, would seem to be an ideal torsion thread; but it lacks one very requisite quality, "elasticity;" therefore, in spite of the other good qualities it possesses, it is unsuitable for the purpose. The substance which has been generally used by the instrument makers is silk fibres, but the torsion of silk is not constant—it is, in fact, so irregular as to upset the working of a delicate instrument; therefore, on account of this unhappy property, the smallness, length of period, and therefore delicacy of the measuring instrument have been limited.

Mr. Boys was lately making some improvements in an instrument for measuring radiant heat, and his investigation came to a standstill owing to the inadequacy of the torsion threads. Giving up the conventional types as useless, he experimented with new substances, and found that quartz was the substance from which he would make fibres which would suit his purpose admirably, and be an ideal type for the scientific market.

In these days of ugly machinery, his method of producing these fibres appears quite picturesque. Mr. Boys poises as an archer bold. He takes a small crossbow, and an arrow made of straw with a needle-point. To the tail of the arrow is attached a fine rod of quartz, which has been melted and drawn out in the oxyhydrogen jet. When the string of the bow is liberated, a fibre is drawn by the arrow.

In a paper which Mr. Boys lately read to the members of the Royal Institution, he remarks: "In this way threads can be produced of great length, of almost any degree of fineness, of extraordinary uniformity, and of enormous strength. I do not believe that if any experimentalist had been promised by a good fairy that he might have anything he desired, he would have ventured to ask for any one thing with so many valuable properties as these fibres possess."

At the meeting Mr. Boys showed upon the screen first a quartz fibre of $\frac{1}{2000}$ th of an inch in diameter. He has had this specimen in constant use in an instrument loaded with about thirty grains. It has a section only one-sixth of that of a single line of silk, and is equally strong. Its inorganic nature renders it incapable of affection by changes of moisture and temperature, therefore it is free from the troublesome vagaries of silk. The piece used in the instrument we are mentioning is 16 inches long. Mr. Boys thinks that if it had been spun glass, its length would have had to have been 1000 feet long, and the instrument as high as the Eiffel Tower. Mr. Boys, however, has still finer specimens than this. He has fibres, the tapering ends of which cannot be traced in a microscope. Dr. Royston Piggott has estimated that these unseen ends are less than one-millionth of an inch. Mr. Boys helps us to form some conception of this bewildering figure. "A piece of quartz an inch long and an inch in diameter would, if drawn out to this degree of fineness, be sufficient to go all round the world 658 times, or a grain of sand

just visible—that is, $\frac{1}{1000}$ of an inch long, and $\frac{1}{1000}$ of an inch in diameter, would make 1000 miles of such thread." As the fibres are made finer their strength increases in proportion to their size, being as high a figure as 80 tons to the square inch. The advantage of fineness in a torsion thread is obvious, as the torsion varies as the $\frac{1}{4}$ -power of the diameter, so even if a fibre is only halved the torsion is reduced sixteenfold. Now that Mr. Boys has produced fibres with such an infinitesimal diameter that the eye, not even through the microscope, can see the product of the hand, we may fairly give him the credit of having worked out this desideratum of the torsion thread to a degree of unlooked-for perfection. It is owing to the extreme viscosity of quartz that the production of these threads are a possibility. If quartz ever became liquid these fibres could not exist; but even in that intense ordeal of heat—the electric arc—quartz does not liquefy; in those conditions we have not fibres but bubbles, which show forms and colours like the familiar soap bubble.

Quartz has also the excellent quality of insulating perfectly even in an atmosphere saturated with moisture, which will intensify its value to the instrument-maker. Perhaps the most interesting and beautiful portion of these researches is the manner in which the uniformity of quartz fibres is proved. It is by no less a subtle process than that of spectrum analysis. This is an optical test so severe that by its irregularities, which would be invisible in the microscope, become manifest.

If the colour of a quartz fibre is examined with a prism, the spectrum is seen to consist of alternate dark and bright bands. The coarser fibres have more bands than the fine ones, and the number increases with the angle of incidence of the light. When it is desired to use a fibre of any particular size, all that has to be done is to hold the frame of fibres towards a bright light, and look at them through a low-angled prism. The bands are then visible, and a fibre is selected with the number of bands that has been found to be given by a fibre of the desired size. Mr. Boys finds most useful the fibres which give only two dark bands.

But besides this test of unfailing accuracy, Mr. Boys has tried one of a more homely nature. He takes a spider and places it on one of the fibres. Instead of running up the fibre with the activity it displays on its own web, it slips down with a run.

Mr. Boys has already by the aid of quartz fibres performed a feat which was before considered impossible. He has transformed the apparatus which illustrates the famous experiment of Cavendish from a clumsy affair into almost pocket shape. The object of the experiment is to weigh the earth by comparing directly the force with which it attracts things, with that due to large masses of lead. In the original apparatus the attraction which two large balls of several hundredweight exerted on two small ones of $1\frac{3}{4}$ lbs., tended to deflect a 6-foot beam. Mr. Boys, by the use of a quartz fibre for the torsion thread, is able to reproduce the apparatus on the following

scale. The large balls are now only $1\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. each, the small ones are replaced by weights of 15 grains each. The cumbersome 6-foot beam is dwarfed to one that will swing round freely in a tube of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter. With this apparatus an effect is produced eighteen times as great as that given by the old form, while the accuracy of observation is enormously increased. As Mr. Boys says, "there would be no difficulty even in showing the attraction between two No. 5 shot."

The Electro-graphoscope.—Few optical laws have been demonstrated by experiment in such variety as that of persistence of vision, two of the more well-known examples being the Thaumatrope and the Zoëtrope. A striking and entirely novel apparatus, the Electro-graphoscope, has lately been added to the list of exemplars; and in future science demonstration apparatus it will probably class as an exceedingly refined illustration for large audiences of the persisting image being merely on the retina. In the lantern Zoëtrope the sheet on which the revolving image is cast remains before the eye, but in the Electro-graphoscope the beholder sees at once—first, that the lathe-screen is too small to reflect any but a minute portion of the image; secondly, that the lathe continually revolving, air only is before the retina, excepting for an almost infinitesimal space of time, in the spot where he sees the image.

The Electro-graphoscope was first shown by the inventor at the Royal Society *Conversazione* in May last. In the path of an oxy-hydrogen lantern, in which was a transparent photograph, was placed a thin lathe of wood a little more than an inch broad and twenty inches long; this was made to revolve rapidly by means of an electro-motor, the effect being an image apparently in mid-air in striking relief. The narrower the lathe the more filmy transparent and ghost-like the image. It can, of course, be shown any size. In the smallest size yet brought out by the inventor the lathe is worked by hand by means of a multiple wheel, the lathe being only nine inches long and less than an inch broad. The second image, which would be visible on a large scale in a room, might somewhat detract from the beauty of the illusion if a method of dissipating it had not been found. It can be quenched by light; or it can be dissipated by means of a small piece of apparatus placed immediately behind the lathe. This consists of crumpled dark blue gelatine gummed on two pieces of ribbed glass placed in a suitable holder at a sharp angle adjustable to the size and distance of the disc. A long and interesting series of experiments with the most varied materials preceded the discovery of a suitable small cheap portable absorbent medium. The inventor was about to abandon smooth gelatine as too reflective even at an acute angle, when quite by chance a crumpled old piece being placed on the ribbed glass complete dissipation was obtained. The use of the ribbed glass instead of a thicker material allows sufficient light to pass to prevent the casting of a shadow.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

Dr. Nansen's Journey across Greenland.—The Royal Geographical Society on June 24 was entertained by Dr. Nansen's account of his trip across the frozen Arctic continent. The feat has been often attempted, but never achieved before, and the new departure effected by the present explorer, in starting from the uninhabited east coast, so as to have the Danish Esquimaux settlements to recruit and revictual in at the end of the journey, has been justified by success. The party, consisting of Dr. Nansen and five companions—three Norwegians and two Lapps—sailed from Iceland in a sealing ship on July 17, 1888, and left the ship in two boats within ten miles of land, near Cape Dan, $65^{\circ} 30' \text{ N.L.}$ In trying to force their way through the ice one of the boats was partially crushed, and in the delay caused by repairing it they were swept southward by a rapid current for twelve days. Consequently it was not till the 15th of August that they disembarked and started on their land journey, with Kristianshaab on Disco Bay as their goal. For twelve days they pushed forward, dragging their sledges through snow which became looser as they advanced, and with a continuous snow-storm blowing in their faces. Finding it impossible to reach their original destination in time to catch the last ship of the season, they altered their course for a more westerly one in the direction of Godthaab. The drifting snow continued to impede them, but the surface was smooth like a floor, gradually rising, until, at the beginning of September, they had reached a height of 9000 feet above the level of the sea, and stood on an extensive ice plateau resembling a frozen sea. For two weeks they travelled through this region, finding the cold unexpectedly severe, the thermometer falling at night to 50° Cent. below freezing. On September 19, a favourable wind springing up, the two sledges were lashed together and the sail hoisted, the labour of drawing them being no longer necessary. Standing on their "skis" (Norwegian snow-shoes), they held on to their sledges and rattled down the western slope of the continent at a splendid pace. On the 24th they reached the zone of land bare of ice on the western coast, and on the 26th a fjord called Ameralik. A boat being constructed out of the canvas floor of the tent, with bamboos and willow boughs as ribs, two of the party paddled fifty miles to Godthaab, reached on October 3, whence two boats were sent back to bring on their four companions. Dr. Nansen believes his expedition to have proved the whole of Greenland to be covered by an immense shield-shaped cap of ice and snow, in some places to a depth of 5000 to 6000 feet. Its examination should, in his opinion, be of great assistance in elucidating glacial theories, as Europe and

North America probably presented similar conditions during the glacial period.

British North Borneo Company.—At the half-yearly meeting of this company on July 9 the accounts showed an increase of £1000 in revenue compared with preceding years, but a still larger increase in expenditure, owing to disturbances on the west coast, which required an expedition to put them down. No dividend is consequently payable at present, but they hope to be in a position to vote one at the close of the year. Chinese labour is employed, and cultivation is being extended by twenty subsidiary companies. The prospects of tobacco growing are very hopeful, and the demand for land for this purpose, which began in 1888, is increasing. Three bales of tobacco, sent to compete for the prize of £50 offered by the London Chamber of Commerce for the best tobacco grown in any British Colony, divided the prize with the specimen from Jamaica. The latter was awarded half the sum as the best smoking tobacco, while that grown in Borneo was pronounced to be the production of highest commercial value. The Borneo tobacco was afterwards sold for an average price of 2s. 10d. a pound.

Christianity in Japan.—A series of articles, contributed to the *Japan Weekly Mail* of Yokohama by a Japanese, gives a curious picture of the rising generation of the countrymen of the writer, with their beliefs and intellectual aspirations. He represents it as divided into two great and opposing schools, one of which looks to Christianity to supply Japan with a new moral system, the other to science and philosophy. Each of these rival parties has its leaders and organs of opinion, books, periodicals, and complete intellectual machinery for developing and propagating its views. While pointing out that the change in the attitude of Japan towards Christianity which has come about in recent years has now become generally known, the writer asserts that it is only within the last two or three years, or, in other words, since the awakening of the rising generation, that the new creed has become a vital element of the nation's civilized life. "Its influence (he says) is now felt through the rising generation, not only by reason of the fast increasing number of young converts, but also, and perhaps to a greater extent, by means of the creation of a powerful literature, thoroughly imbued with the Christian spirit." This literature is chiefly journalistic, and two papers, the *Universe* and *Friend of the People*, are mentioned as particularly influential on this side. The articles we quote from, which seem written without personal bias, leave a general impression on the mind that Christianity in Japan is not confined to the poor and uneducated, but that it has taken fast hold on the minds of many of the most ardent, thoughtful, and influential men of the rising generation, who do not entertain their belief in Christianity as a regenerating force for their country merely as a pious opinion, but have thrown all their energies into preaching this faith to their countrymen. They have established journals, which are eagerly and extensively read, have secured a large following among

men of their own stamp, the future leaders of their country, and are engaged in consolidating and spreading a school of thought at the foundation of which lies a belief in the truths of Christianity. To put the matter in another way, Christianity has become an intellectual force of the first order in Japan, and in the fight against the school which would have a new moral system on scientific and philosophical bases its champions are men who are worthy of their cause, and worthy, it may be added, of their antagonists. It is somewhat singular that no mention is made of foreign Christian missionaries, but that the contest is waged on both sides by Japanese, many of whom are graduates of foreign universities. (*Times*, August 5.)

Oyster Production at Arcachon.—A recent Consular report gives details of the artificial oyster rearing which is a speciality of this locality. The Bay of Arcachon, with a superficial area of 38,200 acres at high water, reduced to 12,200 at low water, is especially adapted for the purpose by the large tract of 26,000 acres of sand and mud banks thus left exposed by the receding tide. The layer of rich seaweed (*Zostera marina*) covering portions of this tract has been for a thousand years the natural habitat of the oyster, as the produce of the beds is alluded to by early writers. The quantity annually dredged at the beginning of this century amounted to 5000 cartloads of sixty baskets, each containing 250 oysters. This represents a total of 75,000,000, value £9000 sterling at the average price of 7½*d.* the basket. But as no proper regulations were in force as to restriction of production, the natural supply became exhausted, reducing the total value of the take to £2800 in 1840, and £100 in 1858. It was only after the establishment of model oyster farms by the Government that, in 1860, the industry began to revive. Their success encouraged private individuals to follow the same system, and the consequent increase may be judged from the figures of 10,584,550 oysters, value £13,548, for 1865, and 203,279,000, value £178,887, for 1888, while the average per 1000 had fallen from £1 11*s.* 8*d.* in the former to 17*s.* 5*d.* in the latter year. The export of oysters from Arcachon now exceeds that from any other part of France or of the world, and is a source of livelihood to a large fraction of its 30,000 inhabitants. The unusual success which attends the culture here is due to exceptionally favourable qualities of soil and water, as well as to the fact that the beds are left uncovered for only about three hours between the falling and rising tide.

The oyster beds are enclosures of about two to three acres each, shut in by low boards on the weed-covered banks of the bay. A certain number of tiles, sometimes as many as 10,000, are placed here after being previously dipped in a solution of lime, and on these the infant oysters collect and grow, in numbers varying from 250 to 1000 on each. Only about 30 per cent. of those reared are brought to market, the rest perishing from sudden changes of temperature, bad weather, natural enemies, or disease. They are generally

exported at from two to three years old, the minimum size permitted being 5 centimètres (about 1.95 in.) in length and breadth. They are sometimes placed in specially constructed boxes, in which they grow twice as quickly, and are secured against the attacks of crabs and other enemies, but this mode of cultivation is comparatively costly. Prices are highest between September 1 and May 1. In 1888 about 80,000,000 were exported to the United Kingdom, 100,000,000 to France, and 23,000,000 to other oyster farms for breeding. Those sold in England are generally fattened previously at the mouth of the Thames, the mixture of sewage having this effect, and are then sold as "natives," to which, however, they are inferior in flavour.

British East Africa.—The development of the territories of the British East African Company seems to make satisfactory progress, despite the difficulties created by the German operations. Road-making has been begun towards the interior, the harbour of Mombassa has been surveyed, and works begun which will render it one of the best on the coast. Hundreds of the British Indian merchants, driven out elsewhere, have settled in its neighbourhood, and will do much to develop its trade, while, as regards the interior communications, it is believed that the European pioneers of the Company have ere this joined hands with Stanley and Emin Pasha, thus securing the route to the Victoria Nyanza by the Tana from the inroads of German adventurers. The same object will, according to the *Times* (August 13), be kept in view by Stanley on his march to the coast, and it is hoped that by this means British influence may be rendered paramount over Uganda, Unyoro, and the promising region between the Lakes. A light railway has also been projected in this direction, which, with steamers to be placed on Lake Victoria and the Tana river, would draw the trade of the interior from hundreds of miles round to the company's seaports.

Information received as to the northern and north-western section represents it as a country of hills, plateaus, and running streams, suited for pasture and grain culture, as well as for plantations of sugar, tobacco, and indigo, while in the neighbourhood of Mombassa itself large plantations of cocoa-nut trees have been begun. No attempts have yet been made to search for minerals, but it is quite possible that they exist, as iron at least abounds in Africa. An admirable map of the territory has been prepared by Mr. Ravenstein, recording not only its physical features but its economical capabilities, and showing that, though it contains some tracts of desert, and others covered with euphorbia and scrub, there are also large extents of rich grassy plains.

Railway Extension in Asia.—The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society publishes a translation, by Dr. Casartelli, of an article on Russian railways in Asia, originally published in the *Berlin Germania*. The writer says that a glance at the map of Asia is sufficient to convince one that sooner or later Russia and England must come to a decisive contest in Asia, which will depend on

whether or not England will so strengthen her position in India as to bring to a halt the violent pressing forward of Russia towards the East of Asia.

England now possesses in India a widely extended railway network, which traverses the peninsula from Lahore in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, and from Hyderabad in the west to Calcutta in the east, and brings the natural and industrial treasures of the richly endowed peninsula of Hindustan to her ports. Hitherto, however, India has been shut in on all sides within her own railway network, for neither on the west towards Russia and Persia, nor on the east towards French Indo-China, had the Anglo-Indian lines any connection, whilst at the north the heaven-sweeping Himalayas offered a natural barrier against every intruder; but in a very few years all this will be changed, for other European powers, as Russia and France at present, will purposely push their lines close up to the borders of the British possessions.

Russo-Asiatic Lines.—The projected Russian railway system is on a grander scale. The Russo-Asiatic-Pacific line, already begun, is to run from the Black Sea, through Bokhara and Turkestan, right up to Siberia. It will then bend eastward, and girdle the Chinese Empire with a belt of steel rails, and eventually be continued even to the Corea. Thus it will traverse the whole of Asiatic Russia. At present the line begins at Batoum, on the Black Sea, runs by Tiflis to Baku, starts again beyond the Caspian at Usun-Ada, running *viâ* Askabad, Merv, and Bokhara, to Samarcand. From this place the extension of the Pacific line is to go, on the one hand, *viâ* Tashkend to Tomsk, on the other to Omsk, and at both places to join the Siberian Pacific line. The Perm-Tyumen line is already finished. Thence the main line is to continue *viâ* Omsk, Poms, Yakutsk, to Vladivostock. Here the line is to have its junction for branches to Corea and China, whilst the trans-Siberian line itself is to be joined by a second line (Tashkend-Orenburg) to European Russia. Already work is in progress southward from Merv and elsewhere for Teheran, for lines which will run close up to British India.

Railways in the Far East.—France is busy in Indo-China at laying down a railway network, meant to unite Pegu in the west and Tenasserim in the south with China in the north; while a coast line is to run along the entire east of Indo-China, and join all the seaports together. Still vaster and bolder are the projects of China, which are intended to cross the giant Empire from south to north, and from the west to the Chinese Sea and Yellow Sea.

Of the islands, Java and Nippon (Japan) already possess extensive railways, while in this respect Ceylon is backward. In Japan lines are being built with such activity that at no very distant date it will have a total length of nearly 1200 miles. A line is being constructed in Sumatra, in order to bring the rich coal treasures of the Ombilin River down to the coast. Also one in Manila, to bring sugar and hemp down to the seaports.

The writer concludes that the very most remote parts of Asia will

be sooner opened up to European influence than the mere coast region of Africa, because some remnant of ancient civilization, although hermetically sealed from the rest of the world, has here always continued to exist, thus affording a basis for future progress.

Little Russia.—The region thus designated has no definite landmarks; some place its centre at Karkoff, others at Poltava, but at those places Mr. Delmar Morgan informed the British Association in 1888, he was referred to Kief, and at Kief to Luef, or Lemberg, in Austrian Galicia. Some weeks passed in the country by him, principally at Kharkof, Poltava, and Kief, with excursions from these points, afforded him the means of judging of at least its superficial aspects. Kharkof is described as "a rising city, a Russian Chicago, with a university, founded about eighty years ago, and a select literary circle." The prevailing feeling at Kharkof is that Moscow must be regarded as the mother of Slav nationalities, however much like a stepmother she may behave. This is attributable to the large mixture of Great Russians in the population, and the material prosperity everywhere apparent. At Kharkof Little Russians gradually lose their distinctive characteristics and language, but it has a summer theatre where plays are acted in the Little Russian language, every attention being paid to the exact reproduction of the dress, customs, &c., of the people. From Kharkof the traveller made an expedition to "Sviatiye Gori," the "Holy Hills," on the right bank of the Donetz, reaching it on the anniversary of its first abbot, Arsenius, when a great number of pilgrims were assembled there from all parts of Russia. This monastery ranks next to the Pecherski Lavri of Kief in importance in Southern Russia. The general appearance of the country is that of a cultivated boundless plain, with occasional mounds, or kirghans, rising above the surface to the height of fifty or sixty feet. These are, according to recent investigations, the burial-places of the earlier nomadic inhabitants. Poltava, the next halting-place, is situated on heights overlooking the Vorsklo. Notwithstanding its dreary and somewhat dilapidated appearance, it is the heart of Little Russia, and its associations carry one back to the most stirring history of that nationality. An excursion from Poltava to Oposhina afforded a glimpse of the home industries, such as pottery and leather-dressing. The Little Russians are described as a finer race than the Great Russians; and they are enterprising colonists, though sometimes unjustly charged with laziness. Their social and political tendencies are also different from those of their neighbours, for whereas the latter favour communal tenure and the patriarchal family life, they are for individualizing property and severing the family tie. In early times their *gromada*, answering to the *mir* of Great Russia, freely discussed local affairs. The present aristocracy of landowners is descended from the Hetmans and other officers of Cossacks who were in power at the time of the rebellion against Poland in the seven-

teenth century, and their union with Russia, or Muscovy, as it was then called.—(*Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society.*)

Hong Kong Cathedral.—The new Catholic Cathedral has been publicly dedicated at Hong Kong. It holds 4000 people, cost £24,000, has a length of 207 feet, is 60 feet wide in the nave, and 100 feet at the chancel end. The height of the top of the spire is 135 feet, and up to the under side of the central tower is 90 feet. It contains four stained glass windows on each side, while above the porch is the inscription, "*Anno Jubilaei Sacerdotalis Leonis XIII. P. P.*" On each side of the centre spire are seven bays, each containing two stained glass windows. The belfry tower, when completed, is to be 150 feet high. The roof is made, not of bamboo, or any other delightful material used in that land of the decorative arts, but of cast iron supplied from Glasgow.

New Missionary Station in Africa.—Cardinal Lavigerie has decided to create a station of the Algerian missionaries at the intersection of Lake Nyassa and the River Shiré, the very centre of the Portuguese possessions. This step is considered of great importance both for the missions and the anti-slavery movement.—(*Illustrated Catholic Missions*, Aug. 1889.)

Liberia.—The Republic of Liberia, the outcome of negro emancipation, was the subject of an interesting paper read to the members of the Manchester Geographical Society by the Hon. E. B. Gudgeon, on November 21, 1888, and reprinted in the Society's Journal. The settlement, founded in 1822, by the American Colonization Society, as an asylum for emancipated slaves, received international recognition as a State in 1847, and has now a territory of 14,300 square miles, with 500 miles of seaboard, a population of 2,000,000, and an annual revenue of £40,000. Monrovia, the capital, has a population of 5000, and is a bustling port with a fair anchorage and landing-place at the mouth of the Mesurado river. The climate is not unhealthy, if drinking strong liquors and exposure to the night air are avoided, but the neglect of either precaution renders it dangerous to Europeans. There are but two seasons, "the rains" and "the dries," the former lasting from May to November, the latter through the remaining half of the year, but this nomenclature must not be taken in an absolute sense, as there is generally some rain and some dry weather in every month of the year, the former being, however, in excess at one period, and the latter during the other. April is known as the tornado month, from the sudden and violent wind storms which then occur, while from December to February is called the harmattan season, from the land breeze, so termed, which then blows until 2 or 3 P.M., and, though cool, is distressing, from its extreme dryness. Leaves and covers of books curl when exposed to it as though placed before the fire, wooden furniture and vessels gape into fissures, and the skin feels parched and rigid. The country rises gradually from the coast, becoming hilly in the interior, and is generally thickly wooded. There are several large rivers, but none are navigable beyond twenty miles

inland. The Kroo tribe, which furnishes such admirable sailors and servants, is subject to Liberia, as are also the Mandingoes, occupying territory in the interior reaching to Lake Tchad.

All the most valuable tropical fruits and timber trees flourish in Liberia, and European vegetables also grow freely. Coffee is indigenous, banana, cocoa-nut, and guava abound, and rice yields so abundantly as to supply food to the indolent natives in return for three months' labour in the year. The brute creation is also largely represented; elephants are numerous enough to be regularly hunted for their ivory; and the hippopotamus, leopard, crocodile, and boa-constrictor are among the more formidable denizens of the streams and forests, which also harbour the chimpanzee. Horses, though abundant in the interior, of a small but beautiful breed, do not thrive in the settlement, and oxen are used for draught and burden.

Among curious specimens of insect communities are those of the driver ant, a column of which, sometimes a hundred yards in length, will when on the march, clear its way of all obstacles. Their united attack is so formidable that all animals dread them, and man himself has to fly before them. When they enter a dwelling-house they are left in undisputed possession during their stay, but they are not unwelcome visitors, as they expel rats, mice, vermin, and every living and moving thing within it, after which they quietly vacate it once more. Their nests are underground, and it is to be presumed that these excursions are of the nature of raids in search of food.

Level of African Lakes.—Sir Francis de Winton, President of the Geographical Section of the British Association, in his opening address on September 12, dwelt on the interest of Stanley's explorations from a geographical point of view, and pointed out their value for the determination of unsettled problems.

The desiccation of the Lake Albert Nyanza [he went on to say], and its influence on the rise and fall of the Nile, is not the least remarkable of these problems. For my own part, I am of opinion that this rise and fall is mainly caused by the rapid growth of tropical water plants. During the dry season this vegetation increases enormously, and at the first rains large masses of aquatic growth are loosened by the rising of the waters. These masses, in the form of floating islands, pass downwards on the bosom of the flowing waters, and on reaching a shallow part of the river, such as we find at the Bahr-el-Gazal, they gradually, but quickly, collect, until they form a dam of sufficient density to obstruct the progress of the river; and the water thus arrested finds a temporary lodgment in the Lake of Albert Nyanza, causing it to overflow its normal boundaries. At length the vegetable dam can no longer withstand the pressure of the water bearing upon it; a portion gives way; a channel is opened; and the river, hurrying on to the sea, overflows the banks of the Lower Nile, and drains the lake to a lower level. This is what happens to the Albert Nyanza, which is nothing more than a huge backwater of the Upper Nile basin, and it accounts for the lake being seen at two different levels by those two distinguished explorers, Mr. H. M. Stanley and Sir Samuel Baker, and hence the difference of opinion as to its true size and extent that has arisen between them. We know that this phenomenon takes place on Lake Tanganyika, as Stanley found a marked difference in its level on the two occasions he rested upon its shores. He also followed the

Lukuga River from the Tanganyika Lake to its junction with the Congo; and there is no doubt that a vegetable dam, such as I have described, forms at the point of departure of this river from the lake, and prevents its regular flow till the weight and pressure behind it sweeps all away. During the second year that I was on the Congo we had an unusually heavy flood at the time of the first rains. The river rose several feet in one night, and some months afterwards news came from the Upper Congo that the waters of the big lake had broken through, and this, no doubt, had reference to the Lukuga River and Lake Tanganyika.

Deforestation of Cyprus.—Sir Robert Biddulph pointed out to the British Association that Cyprus was anciently covered with forest, and that in Biblical times much shipbuilding took place. In Balaam's prophecy it was stated, "ships shall come from the coasts of Chittim," and it was with Cyprus timber that Alexander the Great built the fleet which he launched on the Tigris and Euphrates. At the present time the forests are confined to the mountain ranges, and threaten to disappear altogether. At the time of the Egyptian occupation of Cyprus vast quantities of timber were cut down and carried to Egypt. At the time of the British occupation the ravages of the wood-cutter were to be seen in full operation, and it could not be doubted that it was only a question of time when the last remaining forests of Cyprus should disappear entirely. The destruction of the forests dates from modern times. The Venetians took immense quantities of timber for their commerce and marine, and the working of mines in Cyprus must also have done great injury to forests, but the greatest enemies to forests in every country where they exist are goats. The manner in which the destruction of forests by goats is accomplished has been described by Darwin and others with regard to the island of St. Helena. The question of forests in Cyprus is a very serious one, because it sensibly affects the wealth and productiveness of the island. As the forest disappeared so did the soil that covered the hills. That soil was washed down to the plains, choked the river-beds, and formed malarious swamps. The hills became bare rocks, incapable of growing a blade of grass, and the locust at once took possession of the barren ground, while the absence of trees deprived the earth of its annually fertilizing agent—leaf-mould. It is only since the forests were destroyed that the locust has made headway in the manner which was so notable in olden times. It is not likely that the great breeding-ground of the locust will ever again be clothed with forest, and the disappearance of the locust must be looked for when the population, and with it the cultivation, shall increase. The population of Cyprus was, at the census of 1881, 186,000, of whom one-fourth were Mohammedans and the remainder of the Greek Church. The people are almost entirely agricultural in their pursuits, the principal products being wheat, barley, cotton, olives, and grapes. From the last named is made an excellent wine, which has been famous from the earliest ages. The agricultural operations are carried on in the most primitive manner, and the wine is manufactured in the rudest way. The agricultural prosperity of Cyprus is a matter of the

greatest interest to the Government, for on it the revenue entirely depends. The island is emphatically a land of peasant proprietorship, with the result that there are no wealthy persons and no beggars. The houses are poor and exhibit but little architectural skill or beauty, and are mostly built of sun-dried brick. The villages usually contain from twenty to eighty houses, and there are but few considerable towns. The principal of these is the capital, Nicosia, situated in the centre of the island, and having 12,000 inhabitants.

Treaty between Japan and Mexico.—This treaty, concluded in November 1888, and subsequently ratified, is the first negotiated by Japan on terms of perfect equality with any Western Power. Mexican citizens are given the right to reside and travel freely in the country on condition of obeying its laws and accepting the jurisdiction of its courts. Mexico receives under the treaty the rights of the most favoured nation, that expression, however, receiving the interpretation placed on it by America, and not that contended for by England.

Trade of Servia.—A lengthy Report by Mr. Ranald Macdonald, Vice-Consul at Nish, on the trade of Servia, has been laid before Parliament. The statistics for the three years 1886–87–88 show a large decrease in imports. The total value of the latter amounted in 1888 to £1,325,089, showing a decline of £141,000 since the previous year, and of about £789,000 since 1886, when they were unduly swollen by the purchase of a large amount of army clothing and war material. British imports, amounting to about one-tenth of the total, consist mainly of cotton yarns and tissues, raw cotton, and colonial produce. Servia is described by Mr. Macdonald as “the land of monopolies.” One for paper-making has recently been sold to an Austrian Count of Belgrade; and the tobacco monopoly has been in the hands of the group of French and Austrian financiers forming the *Länder Bank* of Vienna, who paid £60,000 for the lease, made an income of from £240,000 to £280,000, and resold it last year to the Servian Government for £200,000. Matches are sold exclusively by a group of Belgian capitalists, candles by a German, explosives by an Austrian, &c. The guilds of the various trades, called *esnafis*, regulating the conditions of apprenticeship and the privileges of master workmen, are a curious mediæval survival. They are independent of State support, the funds for mutual aid in sickness or necessity being provided by monthly subscriptions; nor is there any general organization of the guilds, which exist separately in the several towns. So backward in ordinary mercantile resources were the people of Nish, that until a few months ago the system of crossed cheques was unknown there, and payment of them refused. Mr. Macdonald urges British manufacturers not to lose the Servian market by over-caution in declining to give credit, as the custom of the country is opposed to the ready-money custom, and it is hopeless to insist on it. The Servian mines, having fallen into the hands of financial adventurers owing to the reckless concessions of the Government, have hitherto proved of little value, but coal, iron, lead,

quicksilver, antimony, gold, zinc, asbestos, and oil shales exist in the country.

The Future of the Transvaal.—The rapid development of the mining industry in the Transvaal is the subject of a correspondent's letter in the *Times* of September 19. The most active operations are carried on at present along thirty or forty miles of the Witwatersrand, some fifty miles south-west of Pretoria. Johannesburg, the capital of this district, which had no existence two years ago, is now a town of 20,000 inhabitants, where an Exchange is about to be built at a cost of £100,000, and carpenters and bricklayers have been earning from £1 to 25s. a day. But other districts are believed to be equally rich, and over the 100,000 square miles of the Transvaal territory gold exists in varying quantities. It is found, not in alluvial deposits, as in the nugget-bearing fields of Australia, nor in quartz reef as elsewhere, but in conglomerate rock resembling a pebbly cement. Its distribution in this matrix seems remarkably uniform, the same percentage being found to a depth of 200 to 300 feet as at the surface.

The political results of the development of the new industry are likely to be important, as the original Boer population, which alone exercises the franchise, is being rapidly swamped by the new settlers, mostly of English nationality. They already number 100,000, while the Boers are but 60,000; and the latter are becoming so alarmed at the transformation their country is undergoing, that one of their emissaries actually visited Holland during the summer, in the hope of inducing fresh Dutch emigrants to go out in order to counteract the British influx. The absence of railways, to the construction of which the stolidly conservative Dutch farmers are opposed, is the great difficulty in the way of the mining interest. All plant and machinery, which for one mine alone weighed one million and a half, has, after the railway transit of 630 miles from Cape Town to Kimberley, to be transported 300 miles further in ox-waggons over rude tracks and across unbridged rivers. On this subject there must eventually be a struggle between the new and old inhabitants.

Notes on Novels.

The Rogue. By W. E. NORRIS. London: Bentley. 1888.

THIS, though not the latest, is one of the brightest of Mr. Norris's invariably bright novels. The plot, as the name implies, turns on the adventures of a very plausible and engaging adventurer, whose *bonhomie* of manner makes many friends for him, despite the callous selfishness it hides. His character is most happily drawn,

nor can we condemn the defeat of poetic justice which leaves him, by an unexpected stroke of good fortune, converted once more into a prosperous and respectable member of society. The temptation of pecuniary pressure once removed, his superficial amiability has free play, and even the confiding widow who bestows her fortune on him has no reason to repent of her bargain. Oswald Kennedy, to whom the part of hero more properly falls, is also a clever sketch, cleverly contrasted with his unscrupulous relative. The two characters are exactly reversed, and not unnaturally the slight varnish of cynicism which in the younger man hides real warmth and generosity of nature, is a greater barrier to popularity than the agreeable heartlessness of the elder. Even in love he finds him a formidable rival, and the worse man, with the help of a little judicious calumny, and an unfortunate concatenation of suspicious circumstances, seems for a time likely to prevail over the better. The heroine, however, with her caprices of temper, and decidedly snubbing ways, finally relents in time to console the desponding Oswald, whose attachment must indeed have been a hardy plant to thrive under the treatment it received. Indeed the general deceptiveness of manner seems to be the pervading moral of the tale, as it has also a secondary hero, who conceals quick sympathies under a ponderous mask of silence and reserve.

Miss Shafto. By W. E. NORRIS. London: Bentley. 1889.

MR. NORRIS, though always readable, is not at his best in this light novel of society. The heroine is one of those deserving young women who, in the present phase of literary fashion, have displaced a class of damsels whom our grandmothers would have been uncharitable enough to describe as minxes. But the minxes, though reprehensible, were generally amusing, while the district visitors, however edifying, are apt to be dull. *Miss Shafto*, who rejoices in the stage-hallowed name of *Norma*, is no exception to this rule, and inspires but feeble interest in her fate and fortunes. The hero, a certain Lord Walter, combining sculpture with rank in the peerage, is also a somewhat lackadaisical type of lover, whose languid affections undergo a perhaps not unnatural aberration in the direction of a less perfect character, whom it would be scarcely unjust to class with the minxes aforesaid. The adventures of this young lady are decidedly the liveliest portion of the book, and the matrimonial quarrels in which her interested marriage results, are realized with great truth to the characters and situation. Neither are her misfortunes overdone by being worked up to a pitch of tragedy of which such light natures are incapable, and we are left with the conviction that her fate was, on the whole, a very tolerable one. As the hero's elder brother has also the good taste to die suddenly, leaving the more meritorious sculptor a marquise and all befitting accessories,

he is enabled to rescue the heroine from the poverty into which a speculative father had plunged her, and reward virtue by elevation to the Walhalla of Debrett's pages. Thus poetical justice is dealt in due gradation, as her wordly minded rival has to be contented with inferior rank as the wife of a recently created and extremely plain baronet.

Past Forgiveness. By LADY MARGARET MAJENDIE.
London: Bentley. 1889.

A VERY prettily told tale is here marred by wild improbability of plot. The scene is laid in France, and the characters are life-like realizations of various French types. The hero, handsome and high-born, but penniless and reduced to earn his bread by authorship, is rescued from death through starvation by a benevolent doctor, and nursed through the consequent illness by the family of the heroine. The courtship thus begun results, despite some preliminary opposition, in an ideally happy marriage. The hatred of a literary rival brings about the catastrophe, in the separation of husband and wife, and supposed death of the latter in the conflagration of a ship. She has, however, in reality been saved, in company with the villain, who contrives to transport her to a secluded villa, and there, with his wife and dependents as her jailers, to keep her a prisoner for months. Her husband, meantime, in despair at her loss, becomes a priest, and she is released only to find an unsurmountable barrier raised between them. He, when he discovers the truth, refuses even to see her, and she accepts the hard sentence with resignation. After forgiving and consoling the deathbed of his enemy, he is shot in assisting the wounded on the barricades, and his wife witnesses his death, but refrains even then from disturbing his last thoughts by the knowledge of her presence.

Sant' Ilario. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London:
Macmillan. 1889.

WE find ourselves, in these volumes, once more in the agreeable company of our old friends, the Saracinesca family, and pursue their history through a later phase. *Sant' Ilario* is, indeed, the second title of that princely house, borne by its heir, Giovanni, who is found, at the opening of the tale, enjoying unclouded domestic happiness as the husband of Corona, the widowed Princess of Astrardente. The temporary eclipse of these bright prospects, indispensable to the requirements of romance, is effected by a savage fit of jealousy, justified by a chain of circumstantial evidence as apparently convincing as that which wrecked the matrimonial happiness of Othello. The forging of the links is, indeed, almost too elaborately contrived to be brought about by mere chance, and gives

the experienced reader a little too much of the sensation of running an artificially laid drag instead of following the natural scent. With these complications are woven two other distinct plots, the courtship of Faustina Montevarchi by a French Pontifical Zouave of the very unprepossessing name of Gouache, and the plot of Prince Montevarchi, her father, to secure the title and estates of Saracinesca for his son-in-law, a cousin of their actual holders, by means of documents forged through the instrumentality of his librarian, Arnaldo Meschini. The career and character of the latter are an interesting and original study, though the catastrophe which leads to the murder of his patron is somewhat abruptly sprung upon the reader. The analysis of his subsequent phases of mind under the influence of brandy and opium, resorted to to deaden his sense of the horror of his position, is a powerful piece of realistic description, though its interest is of a slightly morbid character. The interior life of a Roman patrician family is, we doubt not, faithfully portrayed, though with certain limitations, for we should hope that the character of Prince Montevarchi is not a portrait from life. Among incidental episodes are lively sketches of the battle of Mentana and the state of feeling in Rome during the abortive campaign of Garibaldi. The followers of the latter are represented as committing great atrocities during their advance, and as regarded by the Romans in anything but the light of deliverers, the expected revolution in the city having proved a total failure.

Long Ago and Far Away. By FRANCES A. KEMBLE. London Bentley. 1889.

MRS. KEMBLE'S exchange of the field of fact for that of fiction is not justified by success. Neither the characters nor incidents in her present work have the stamp of verisimilitude, and the closing catastrophe is grotesquely improbable. Religious subjects are introduced, to be handled by the leading characters with levity bordering on profanity, and the plot errs against the canons of taste, if not of morality. The scene is laid in America, some time about a hundred years ago, and the actors are a group of the mixed population of a New England village, in course of settlement by various immigrants. The local descriptions of scenery and nature are the most pleasing features of the volume.

Comedy of a Country House. By JULIAN STURGIS. London: J. Murray. 1889.

THE battle-ground of the petty plots and intrigues which form the subject of Mr. Sturgis's amusing tale is, as his title-page informs us, a country house, whose owner, Lord Lorrilaire, a somewhat whimsical, though amiable, youth, has unexpectedly inherited

it, together with the title and estates of a distant relative. Under these circumstances, he naturally becomes the centre of a web of machinations, social, financial, political, and matrimonial, the threads of which are woven under his own roof. A speculative matron has, of course, marked him out as her future son-in-law, and drives him to a proposal by the insertion of a paragraph in the evening papers. The daughter, however, a high-spirited and innocent girl, will not accept a half-hearted suitor acting under a sense of honour, and if she eventually wins the coveted prize, it is in virtue of her own beauty and ingenuousness, not of Lady Jane's manœuvres.

The Wrong Box. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON and LLOYD OSBOURNE. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1889.

THE plan of dual authorship, though it is difficult to the outsider to know how it can be worked, seems to be justified by its results. Partnership in brain capital has, at any rate, nowise impeded Mr. Stevenson's creative faculty, and we cannot trace any discrepancy in style or incident to suggest the intervention of a less practised hand. The present tale is in the burlesque vein, so happily worked by the author of "*Vice-Versá*," although there is here no supernatural element invoked, and a series of ludicrous situations are created by ordinary means alone. To attempt a bald analysis of the plot would be to give a false impression of the work, as light comedy in literature depends entirely for its effect on the manner of narration, and the quiet humour of Mr. Stevenson's style is required to give vraisemblance to the ridiculous chapter of accidents he here sets forth.

The Weaker Vessel. By D. CHRISTIE MURRAY. London: Macmillan. 1888.

MR. CHRISTIE MURRAY is seen at his best in this lively tale, written throughout with *verve* and animation. The interest turns upon the persecution of the hero by a fiendish wife, whose temper and habits make community of life impossible, and who, by the disgrace she brings on him, embitters all the goods of fortune and position. She contrives to send him fictitious information of her death, in order to entrap him into bigamy, from which he is only saved by the accidental discovery of the truth. This virago, with her invincible will, her furious temper, and her semi-insane hypocrisies, is a powerful study, and the author contrives to give a touch of pathos to her end without doing violence to her previous character. The course of true love is eventually smoothed by her opportune removal by death from her unhappy husband's path.

Richard IV. By FREDERICK J. HODGETTS. London :
Whiting & Co. 1888.

THE title of this book will suggest to the reader that its author has taken for his hero a prince who has no existence on the actual page of history, but is supposed to have been born of a marriage contracted by Richard III. in his early life, and dissolved, after a brief interval, by the death of the lady. On the romantic foundation thus laid, an interesting tale is constructed, giving a vivid picture of the times and manners portrayed. Mr. Hodgett's scholarship as an expert in early English language and literature enables him to fill in the groundwork with the certainty of a master hand, while his imagination is equally at home in the creation of thrilling adventure and moving incident. He is one of the most zealous advocates of that more lenient view of Richard III. with which the stage has recently familiarized us. There is, no doubt, much to be said for the last representative of a deposed line, whose character may have been sacrificed to the sycophancy of public opinion under his successors. It is, however, uphill work endeavouring to overthrow a popular ideal, for whose original Shakespeare is mainly responsible. We regret that Mr. Hodgett's pages should be disfigured by a few disparaging remarks about monks, particularly as they are quite out of harmony with his own narrative, in which monastic training and its results are made to figure most favourably in the character of the hero. We cannot omit to notice the unusual excellence of the illustrations.

Cleopatra. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. London : Longmans. 1889.

THE private life of Cleopatra is not a specially edifying subject for fiction, but, waiving this objection, the author cannot be accused of minimising the repulsive side of her character, or of failing to point his moral with a sufficient weight of judgments overtaking all transgressors. He has undoubtedly written a weird and powerful story, in which the enchantress of history, with all her fascinations, her cold-blooded treacheries, and her one redeeming affection, stands out with a lurid glow of life. We have, of course, one of Mr. Rider Haggard's characteristic introductions, in which a papyrus scroll, found in a mummy cavern, is made to tell the story of the individual from whose cerements it is extracted. Here we enter on the domain of pure fiction, for history gives no warrant for the existence of Harmachis, hereditary high priest of Isis, the true Pharaoh, and claimant of the throne of Egypt in right of descent from its earliest occupants. Crowned with the double crown of Khem in secret conclave, he is sent to Alexandria, after a thrilling series of invocations, incantations, and visions of Isis, as the instrument of a vast secret conspiracy, sworn to kill Cleopatra, and subvert the Macedonian dynasty in his own favour. Charmion, the

Queen's trusted, but treacherous, friend, is first his accomplice, and, then, in the rage of disappointed passion, his betrayer. He, too, is false to his fell purpose, and forgetful of all aspirations of patriotism, mysticism, and ambition, in the ephemeral sunshine of Cleopatra's favour. During this period is introduced a wonderful scene of treasure-hunting in a pyramid, resulting in the discovery, amid accumulations of ghastly horrors, of a priceless hoard of emeralds, hidden in the mummy of a deceased Pharaoh. The hero's expiation, during years of ascetic penance, final vengeance in the preparation of the poison by which, instead of the traditional asp, Cleopatra dies, and eventual confession and sentence by his brother-priests, form a sombre closing act to this drama of treachery and crime.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 15 Giugno, 20 Luglio, 3 Agosto, 1889.

The Shepherd Kings.—Three further articles on the subject of the Hyksôs or Shepherd Kings have appeared in the pages of this periodical. We will throw together a brief notice of such of the chief points treated as will be of interest to the general reader. Much is too scientific for any but the learned to follow. Though the Hyksôs reigned for between four and five centuries in Egypt, but little—next to nothing—is known of the character of their rule or its effects on civilization, and thus this long space of time during which a foreign domination lasted and strengthened itself in the valley of the Nile is almost lost in the annals of history. Egyptologists have diligently sought for the causes of this silence and oblivion involving the XVth, XVIth and XVIIth dynasties, which are precisely those of the Shepherd Kings. The writer records the various reasons assigned or conjectured by the most eminent of these antiquarians for the unquestionable scarcity of monuments left by the Hyksôs, but, however ingenious many may appear, he judges them to be, in the main, either insufficient, gratuitous, or possibly needless, for the purpose of explaining what, he opines, may be accounted for in a much simpler way. Perhaps, he suggests, the fact was that the Hyksôs did not erect many monuments. Some, of small importance, have been discovered at Tanis, a circumstance naturally accounted for by that city having been their capital, and others at Bubaste, which may be reckoned as a sort of second capital of theirs.

The greater part belong to the XVIth dynasty, but why is there no memorial of the XVth? He replies that the first Hyksôs sovereigns were probably more intent on rebuilding and strengthening the city and fortress of Avari, rendering it an impregnable defence against both internal and external foes, than on erecting obelisks, statues, temples, and palaces, of which they found a ready-made abundance, immortal works of ancient dynasties, but especially appertaining to the XIIth; for it may here be observed that, if the absence of monuments must be reckoned to imply their destruction or obliteration, the same might be said of many of the preceding dynasties. An argument which proves too much proves nothing. That no monuments of the Hyksôs should be found in Upper Egypt is not surprising, since in the Theban territory the legitimate princes continued to reign even after their subjection to the Shepherd Kings. That they bore the yoke impatiently we may well believe, but the writer thinks it likely that the Hyksôs might have prolonged their domination in Egypt, which it appears they peaceably maintained for above four centuries, had they established their seat of rule at Thebes instead of at Tanis in the Nile valley, too remote, therefore, from the focus of national affections, whether religious or political, where discontent was sure to brood and honoured traditions to be cherished. The immediate cause or pretext for the rising is commonly believed to have been a proposal made by Apapi, the Hyksôs sovereign, to the prince of Thebes, to recognize his god *Set*, or *Sutez*, as the primary divinity of Egypt. A curious papyrus in an imperfect state exists in confirmation of this belief, and records how the king of Thebes refused to adore any of the gods of the country except Ammon Ra, the King of the Gods. Extracts are given from the text. It is certain, however, that the Theban princes were only awaiting a favourable opportunity to shake off the foreign yoke, and to restore to their country its ancient grandeur under its lawful kings. The struggle, which lasted many years, was very obstinate, but was finally brought to a close by Aahmes I., who on his accession found only the fortress of Avari, in Lower Egypt, to offer any resistance to him. Here he assailed the Hyksôs, who had shut themselves up in it. A very interesting document remains giving an account of the siege. It is contained in the biographical inscription of Aahmes, the son of Abana, who was captain of the marine assisting at the siege; for the fortress was fronted by a lagoon. The reviewer gives it textually. Another sepulchral inscription which the learned see reason to refer to this captain of marine, who had lived during the reign of the XVIIth dynasty, is also mentioned as interesting, from its allusion to a famine which had lasted some years, and is conjectured to be the same as is recorded in Genesis.

The Hyksôs were then forced to abandon their last stronghold, probably from want of provisions, for the statement as to slaughter and extermination recorded in the inscription so common in Pharaonic monuments is for several reasons to be regarded as an exaggeration. They retired from the lands—that is, all who bore arms, as well as the

rich and powerful; all the nerve and sinew, in short, of the nation, who had nothing to hope for, and everything to fear, from the successful foe. They retired into Asia, carrying with them hatred of their victors and a thirst for vengeance, as subsequent history was to prove. But the Delta had become largely populated by Asiatic tribes occupying its cities, who, no doubt, as well as the mixed population of Hyksôs belonging to the agricultural and pastoral order, were certainly not expelled, nor was there any reason they should be. The reviewer concludes with an elaborate inquiry as to the hitherto undiscovered site of the famous fortress of Avari, the etymology of its name and its antiquity, which he believes to have been very great and that it existed long before the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksôs. The most probable opinion with regard to its situation, according to him, would identify it with Pelusium.

3 Agosto, 1889.

The Stigmata and Modern Medicine.—In a former article mention had been made of this miraculous phenomenon, which in Christian hagiography is proved to have taken place in above fifty individuals, though this must not be considered as exhausting the number of holy persons thus favoured. The case of Louise Lateau was explicitly referred to, and it was the purpose of the reviewer to notice the explanations which medical science had undertaken to give of this phenomenon, a promise which he now redeems. It must be remembered that the Doctor Lefebvre, who was in constant attendance on Louise, and carefully watched every circumstance of her case, honestly declared, after the closest study, that medicine was unable to furnish any natural explanation of her stigmata. But scarcely had he published his opinion when an outcry was raised by several physicians, who asserted energetically that a natural explanation could be offered. When we seek for an explanation, however, as the reviewer truly observes, we do not ask for a Greek word which is a mere giving to the phenomenon a scientific name; but we ask for the indication of a known cause which is recognized as producing, or as being capable of producing, a similar phenomenon. To tell us it is a chronic *penfigo*, or an *ematidrosi*, or *emorragia*, is only paying us off with big learned words, which may throw dust in the eyes of some, but which really leave us as wise, and no wiser than they found us. The writer proceeds to show how Louise Lateau's stigmata did not fulfil any of the conditions of these morbid affections. The doctors, in short, cannot bring forward a medical case comparable in however distant a degree, or resembling in however slight a manner, that of Louise. Lefebvre saw this, and frankly confessed it. Moreover, there is no *consensus* amongst these rationalistic physicians on the subject. They are agreed only on one point, that a natural cause is assignable, but differ entirely as to what that cause may be. The writer examines the view of Charbonnier-Debatty, on whom the

Medical Academy of Brussels conferred the honour of publishing, at its own expense, his work on the "Maladies and Faculties of the Mystics," in which is contained the so-called explanation of Louise Lateau's stigmata. Charbonnier's theory is that fasting is the original producing cause, and proceeds to trace the process in a passage which the writer quotes at length, but of which it is difficult, we must say, for the ordinary unscientific reader to make out so much as the meaning. The reviewer remarks after the concluding words, "Thus are the stigmata effected," that if they are thus effected, it is a pure miracle, and believers may rejoice in having an attestation thereof subscribed by modern science. It was not, however, to be endorsed by other members of the faculty, and two in particular, Drs. Warlomont and Mascart, whom the Academy had appointed to examine Charbonnier's work, speedily confuted his theory by stubborn facts, showing that his ideas were a tissue of dreams. Although in her early childhood Louise had suffered privations, from the age of eight to eighteen, when the stigmata appeared, she had never had deficient nourishment, but ate and drank like other people. Warlomont cited a contemporary instance, with which he had been well acquainted, that of another Flemish girl, Isabella Hendricks, most similar to that of Louise Lateau, but not so generally known; for, indeed, she died not long after the stigmata had appeared. From her doctor he had learned that she was very devout to the Passion of Our Lord, and for ten years had daily made the Stations of the Cross. When she was twenty-nine years of age she began to have ecstasies at mid-day every Friday. They lasted for twenty-four hours, during which time she did not partake of food, but at all other times she lived like the rest of the family, and had never abstained from food, either through devotion, poverty, or indisposition. The ecstasies therefore, had not been brought on by fasting; and to long deprivation of food Charbonnier attributed the ecstatic state, which was a prelude to the external marks of the Passion. Convinced by unquestionable evidence that Louise had not gone through the long period of starvation supposed by his theory, he fell back on asserting that she was weakened by the reduced diet of above a month preceeding the appearance of the stigmata. Such absurdities are beyond reasoning with. What theory Dr. Warlomont would substitute for Charbonnier's we know not. Nothing probably more tenable than the one he derides in his medical *confrère*. Perhaps in some future number of the *Civiltà Cattolica* we may learn.

3 and 17 Agosto, 1889.

Pius IX., Victor Emmanuel II., and Napoleon III.—Every year is furnishing fresh documents to throw light upon the treachery of which Pius IX. was the victim at the hands of the Third Napoleon, and of his wretched instrument, Victor Emmanuel. A recent work entitled "The Secret of the Emperor," published by the son of

Thouvenel, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs to Napoleon, is rich in such revelations, consisting as it does of his father's private correspondence with the two French ambassadors at the Holy See and in London respectively, and comprehending the period between January 4, 1860, and October 18, 1862, during which, under the shield of the Bonaparte, was accomplished the principal work of the Revolution in Italy. Neither Thouvenel nor the Duc de Gramont, who, as ambassador, had to treat with Pius IX., seems (the writer believes) to have fathomed the depth of Napoleon's deliberate duplicity, but to have acted with comparative good faith; so much may be said to redeem the honour of French diplomacy. The Emperor had indeed "a secret," and that secret regarded the ultimate connections which united him with the so-called Liberal party in Italy, or, to speak plainer, with the secret Masonic sects. How can it be believed that the old Carbonaro sincerely desired to support the cause of the Papacy? It is a great mistake to suppose that Pius IX. ever placed any confidence in his hypocritical professions; so that if to the last he hoped that Louis Napoleon might not utterly abandon him to the will of his foes, it was only because he could scarcely believe that the Emperor could be so blind to the interests of his own throne. He knew the man; and in this he did not stand alone, as a reported saying of Palmerston proves: "When he speaks, he lies; when he is silent, he is conspiring."

Victor Emmanuel was a traitor of another stamp. He belonged to what may be mildly characterized as the class of the "can't help it." He reminds us a little of the dog in Æsop's fable, who, feeling too weak to defend his master's breakfast from the hounds that craved it, thought he might as well take a share for himself. And the Piedmontese king loved his share, though he did not enjoy the work he had to do to get it. Remorse, it is plain, gnawed at his heart, for in him faith was not extinguished, and, while lending his hand to despoil and persecute the Church of Christ and Christ's Vicar, he continued to sigh for his blessing. When certain secret memoirs are published, which the writer hopes will not always remain concealed, it will be known (he says) that even after 1870 Victor Emmanuel, from an apartment in that Apostolic Palace of the Quirinal which he had sacrilegiously seized, sent a private message to Pius IX. to excuse himself for having occupied Rome, adding these precise words—"Say to the Holy Father that, rather than take anything of his, I would have preferred giving him of my own; but I am compelled to act as I have done. Perhaps I have been the instrument of the secret designs of God." A meagre excuse, but one which proves, at least, that the unhappy king was torn with remorse, and confided in the benignity of the great heart of Pius IX.

We can recommend these two articles as containing highly interesting matter.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, of Aachen.

1. *Katholik*.

FATHER BAEUMER, a Benedictine monk of the Abbey of Maredsous, continues in the June number his thoughtful articles on the development of the sacred liturgy. He treats the liturgical texts, the *τρόποι*, the "Proprium de Tempore," and the feasts introduced during the Middle Ages, commemorating either various mysteries of Christianity or newly added saints. His excellent contributions are based on extensive studies in sacred music, liturgy, and history. To the same number Dr. Saegmüller contributes an article on the so-called right of "Exclusiva," commonly attributed to Austria, France, and Spain during the election of the Pope. The conclusion at which he arrives is: There exists no Papal document establishing any such right; on the contrary, from the time of Julius II. and his decrees regulating the Pope's election, ecclesiastical legislation has been careful to utterly reject this encroachment on the Church's liberty. From among interesting articles in the July number we may select for mention those on Giordano Bruno, the condition of the Church in Bavaria, and still more particularly one on the numerous philosophical works written by Dr. Karl Werner, of Vienna. This highly gifted priest, formerly canon of the diocese of St. Polton near Vienna, and during the last years of his life imperial counsellor in the Ministry of Public Worship, ranks amongst the best writers on philosophy of our time. His books on the history of mediæval philosophers ought to occupy a prominent place in English libraries. Let me call the attention of scholars to Werner's immortal works on—(1) Alcuin and Duns Scotus; (2) The Schoolmen since Duns Scotus ("Die nachscotizistische Scholastik"); (3) "Der Augustinismus in der Scholastik"; (4) The End of Mediæval Scholasticism to the Council of Trent. In richness of material and sagacity of criticism Dr. Werner is far superior to Haureau ("Histoire de la Philosophie Scholastique"). Werner was a hard worker, and during the years 1884–1888 actually brought out no less than five bulky volumes, containing a "History of Italian Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century," (Vienna: G. Faesy), in which, besides the direct exposition of philosophical systems, he constantly points out the influence exercised by political and religious ideas on the development of Italian philosophy. He devotes special attention to Antonio Rosmini, and this part of his work will no doubt, since the condemnation of the Forty Propositions, attract special attention.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter*.

THE July number contains a lengthened criticism of Dr. Albert Hauck's "Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands" (Leipzig, 1887). This

is the first volume, extending from the beginnings of Christianity in our country to the missionary work of St. Boniface. It deserves mention here that the earliest writers of a German ecclesiastical history were two Jesuits, whose works are still indispensable to the historian. Father Marcus Hansiz, who published in 1727 the first two volumes of his "*Germania Sacra*," and Father Sigmund Kalles, the writer of the "*Annales Eccl. Germaniæ*," in six volumes, folio (1756-1769). Professor Hauck belongs to the Protestant Theological Faculty of Erlangen, in Bavaria. He has used the most recent historical investigations, and his volume is the result of industry. As a Protestant, however, he often fails to do justice to the action of the Church, to her institutions and doctrine, or to some supernatural facts that illustrate the presence in her of her Divine Founder and Guide. We take particular exception to Professor Hauck's treatment of the attitude of the bishops in the Merovingian kingdom towards the king: and the alleged acquiescence of the bishops of Gaul in a denial of the Roman Primacy, is utterly destitute of foundation. His description of monasticism is equally unsatisfactory. Other parts of his work, however, seem to me of high value, especially, I may mention, the account of SS. Columban, Severinus, and Boniface. In the August number will be found a criticism of Dr. Gutberlet's "*Lehrbuch der Apologetik*," a complete examination of the bearings of the Giordano Bruno scandal, and biographies of the well-known Princess Isabella, Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philippe II. and Regent of Belgium, and Michael Veresmarti, a Hungarian convert in the seventeenth century.

3. *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach.*

IN July Father De Hoensbroech contributes his last article on the foundation and development of the temporal power of the Popes. He has since gathered this series of excellent articles into a *brochure* entitled, "*Der Kirchenstaat in dogmatischer und historischer Bedeutung*." Freiburg: Herder. Father Lehmkuhl contributes a timely article on "The Revolution of 1789 and Christian Liberty." The Revolution, far from establishing any kind of liberty, has swallowed up religious, civil and domestic liberty, and unless the true ideas on liberty expressed by Leo XIII. in his "*Immortale Dei*" win general acceptance, the world before long will drift into a chaos more terrible than the terrors of 1789. Father Langhorst, who is a first-rate philosopher, contributes a trenchant criticism of Professor Carriere's (Munich) book, "*Jesus Christ and Modern Science*." The Munich scholar tries to effect a peculiar amalgamation of Christianity and modern science, of which even a superficial criticism is sufficient to show that manifestly his theology is sheer pantheism, and the picture he draws of our Lord is only a resuscitation of long-exploded errors. Father von Hammerstein writes on the inalienable rights of the Church and of parents to insist on the Christian education of children.

4. *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* (Innsbruck).

FATHER FRIEK treats of the distinction between venal and mortal sin; Professor Schmid contributes a paper on the category of Quantity; and Father Baeumer has an article on Dom Gasquet's celebrated work, "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries." In this magazine's department of "Analecta" there is an opportune article by Professor Kellner which I may mention, on the Feasts of the "Cathedra S. Petri" at Rome and Antioch.

Notices of Books.

A Century of Revolution. By WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY.
London: Chapman & Hall. 1889.

THESE pages mostly reproduce what Mr. Lilly has already published in periodical form. The volume, however, contains matter that was well worth preserving, and, on the whole, a Catholic may be well content to stand by it as representing the Catholic view on the principal subjects connected with the Revolution of 1789. The first chapter is a short one, and is devoted to a statement of the revolutionary dogma—the equivalence of men and their natural freedom or lawlessness, and the view that government is a contract. Chapter II. is entitled, "The Revolution and Liberty." Unfortunately this chapter is the one we are disposed to like the least. Not but what Mr. Lilly says in it many things that are both most true and most admirably put. That the Revolutionary theory has worked out in France in a way which has destroyed all rational liberty, all public spirit, and all honesty, may be true enough, and Mr. Lilly argues very eloquently that it is so. But he will pardon us if we say that his philosophy of liberty itself is lamentable. To say that the "root" of liberty is freewill (p. 18) is either wrong, or it is nothing to his purpose. Freewill is the root of the physical power of choosing—of our personal freedom from natural determinism; or rather it is the thing itself. But the root of one's moral right to do as one pleases—which is what Mr. Lilly is concerned with—is a different thing altogether. The truth is, there is no moral right in man to do as he pleases. What he has by nature is this: he can recognize his Last End, and the means of attaining it, and other men can recognize the same; and the root of liberty is the right and title which he has, and his neighbours have, to use their faculties without hindrance for the attainment of that end. Mr. Lilly quotes Milton for a definition of religious liberty as "liberty to serve God

and save one's own soul" (p. 34), which is correct enough, abstracting from the Puritan poet's private understanding as to what the serving of God really meant. But if Mr. Lilly approves this view of Milton, how can he consistently complain of the inquisitor for preventing a man from *insulting* God and *damning* his own soul? Surely there is no natural inherent right in man to do this for himself? Without saying that men are to be forced under all circumstances to save their own souls—a thing which is self-contradictory—surely restraint in matters of religion cannot be shown to be *theoretically* destructive of true liberty. The only way in which such a theory could be defended would be to deny the existence of any visible authoritative religious teacher in the world; a view which Mr. Lilly could not take. He cannot, though he seems to do it, seriously maintain "liberty of conscience," in the modern and Protestant sense. Conscience is under a law; it may not decide or choose as it pleases. Say as loudly as you please that it is bad policy to coerce a mistaken conscience, and that religious persecution, even in the interests of the true religion, does more harm than good to religion; but do not give the sacred name of liberty to wilfulness and licence. "The only true school of spiritual freedom," says Mr. Lilly, "is the absolute idealism of the Divine Founder of Christianity. . . . Religious liberty, the most sacred attribute of human personality, is of the essence of the principle for which Christ died" (p. 30). These hazy sayings—which, by the way, are a specimen of a kind of liberalistic jargon of which Mr. Lilly is somewhat too fond—if they mean anything, mean that Christ died in order that men might believe what they please, and reject what they please. And it is in this sense, it must be supposed, that he deplores the imperfection with which, "for long ages," liberty of conscience was apprehended, even by those "who in other respects had drunk most deeply into (*sic*) the idea of Christ" (p. 28)—that is, the Catholic saints. We have met it before, this patronizing apology for a Church which has had to learn the sacredness of "Conscience" from M. Taine and his like. A man, no doubt, is bound to follow his conscience; but he is also bound to see that his conscience is properly formed, and to admit, in principle, that a false conscience is a misfortune, and not the root of liberty and privilege. The Church, in regard to belief of conscience, holds what she held in the days of St. Dominic, and, for the matter of that, of St. Paul. We may have more tender hearts in these days than they had in the time of St. Peter Martyr, just as we probably have thinner skins; but truth and principle are not altered. If Mr. Lilly, in order to be read and appreciated by his scientific and agnostic friends, is obliged to throw over those of his own household, then the gain is not worth the sacrifice.

The chapter on "The Revolution and Religion" (chap. iii.) is very forcible and ably reasoned, with that abundance of citation and reference which makes us wonder at the extent of the writer's reading and the strength of his memory. Here, as throughout the book,

Mr. Lilly does good service by exposing in detail the anti-Christian and anti-theistic writings of Mr. John Morley. Any one who wants to see that able and bitter destroyer answered and shown up, cannot do better than read the volume before us. In the chapter entitled, "The Revolution and Science," Mr. Lilly attacks the speculations engrafted on Mr. Darwin's writings by teachers such as Haeckel, the general result of which is a purely physical explanation of life. Darwin himself he finds to be rather a pious and theological writer—which is perhaps going a little too far. Neither are some of his guesses in scholastic philosophy uniformly happy. When St. Thomas says that nothing is in the intellect which is not first in the imagination ("no knowledge without *phantasmata*") it is by no means meant that "phenomena to be apprehended must be received transcendently" (p. 124). The imagination is a power acting in a corporeal organ, and cannot make anything transcendental. And what does he mean by saying that the "germ of ethics . . . existed, dormant, like sunlight in coal . . . in the strange and monstrous forms of sentient being, which peopled the earth" before man? (p. 125). What is the "germ of ethics"? Is not every ethical principle an intellectual judgment? and must not the terms of such a judgment necessarily be intellectual conceptions themselves? Surely there can be no morality without intelligence? Mr. Lilly's moral "mastodons" like his "religious" dogs, are examples of a tendency to play fast and loose with recognized and definite language which will do no good in the end, though for the moment it may make the apologist's task seem easier. A good chapter on the effect of the Revolution on Art follows, and we then have a very thoughtful study of Democracy. The work concludes with "the Revolution and England."

The True Story of the Catholic Hierarchy deposed by Queen Elizabeth.

By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R., and the late Rev. T. F. KNOX, D.D., of the London Oratory. London: Burns & Oates.

ANY book by Father Bridgett is sure of a welcome. He has done so much to enlighten us on many points, and has cleared up so many difficulties where the true history of the sixteenth century has been obscured by the ignorance, malice, and even fraud, of partisan writers, that he has already won for himself a lasting place in the grateful memories of English Catholics. The little volume before us will materially add to our indebtedness. It has come from the press so short a time before the publication of our present number, in which we are naturally anxious to chronicle its appearance, that we must content ourselves with little more than a cursory notice of its contents, feeling sure, however, that the name of its author is its best introduction.

It is certainly strange that so long a time has been allowed to elapse since the deposition of the old English Hierarchy by Queen

Elizabeth; and that only now is there given to the world the "true story" of the trials, constancy, and deaths of those heroic confessors for the faith. The fact that this is really so cannot be questioned after a perusal of the pages of Father Bridgett's volume, and it is hardly creditable to the Catholics of England, as a body, that they have shown such an apathy for any knowledge of the correct history of this most interesting period, as not long ago to have insisted upon a critical examination of the statements of Burghley and Camden on this and kindred matters. "There is probably no great event," writes Father Bridgett, "to which so little attention has been given, or with regard to which so many errors are current. One after another our historians, both Protestant and Catholic, have been satisfied to reproduce almost the very words of Camden and Lord Burghley, without an attempt to test or verify their assertions" (p. 1). No one who knows anything about the matter would place much reliance upon the testimony of such unscrupulous partisans as the minister or the historian of Queen Elizabeth. As for Camden, grave writers have long ago been obliged to discount largely his assertions, even on matters which he could have had no interest in colouring; much more has this to be done where he is defending or explaining the political action of the Queen. There is reason, too, for supposing that in some questions Camden was himself deluded. At least, a passage in Father Cressy's "Life of Father Augustine Baker" would seem to show this. "It will not be much impertinent," he writes, "to relate a passage that happened while he (Father Baker) was busy searching in the library of Sir Robert Cotton, the which was that he heard a discourse between the said knight and Mr. Camden about a chest of papers which had belonged to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, containing most of the principal businesses of State during his secretaryship. These had been lately bought for a small sum by Sir Robert, who told Mr. Camden, and made it good by the same papers, that he had very false information of many passages in his history of Queen Elizabeth, and particularly from the said letters it appeared that the insurrection in the north, under the Earl of Westmoreland, &c., had been contrived by the said Secretary of State. Whereupon Mr. Camden exclaimed loudly and earnestly against his false informers, and wished that the history had never been written. This passed in Father Baker's hearing." (Weldon's MS. Collections, vol. i. p. 474.) Whatever be the case, however, as to Camden's culpability, from his history and from the false or incorrect assertions of Burghley, who knew the truth, has been taken the story of what happened on the deprivation of the entire body of Catholic bishops, and of their subsequent treatment. And, as is often the case, subsequent writers, including even modern and otherwise respectable authors, so far from inquiring into the facts themselves, have repeated the tales of these two partisans, and even embellished them out of their own imaginations, and according to the exigencies of their story. Those who wish to understand the Protestant version of the story, with its legendary growths, must

read Father Bridgett's first chapter on "Misrepresentation and Ignorance." The two following chapters are devoted to an explanation of the events which, on the death of Queen Mary in November 1558, led to the refusal of the Catholic bishops to take the oath of supremacy to Elizabeth, to the consequent deprivation of their Sees, and subsequent trials, imprisonment, and other hardships for conscience' sake. These chapters should be carefully read and studied by all who wish thoroughly to profit by the necessarily somewhat disjointed and fragmentary notices of the bishops contained in chapters iv. to viii. The seventy pages devoted to these chapters give all the details which Father Bridgett, with a devotedness and perseverance abundantly evidenced throughout, has been able to collect about the thirteen deposed bishops—Tunstall, Boyne, Morgan, Ogelthorpe, White, Scott, Pate, Poole, Bonner, Bourne, Turberville, Thirlby, and Heath (Archbishop of York). His facts clearly prove that the life of ease and comfort which, in the minds of popular writers, they are supposed to have been allowed to lead after their deposition from ecclesiastical office, is one of those myths by which the true history of that period has too long been obscured.

Father Bridgett quotes Lord Burghley's attempt, in his "Execution of Justice in England," to show that the English martyrs of Elizabeth's reign had not been put to death for religion, but for treason, by showing that the Marian bishops had been neither persecuted nor put to death, because, although persistent in their Popery, they had been nevertheless quiet and loyal subjects. It is too long a passage for re-quotation here, but it is an admirable example, when taken with Father Bridgett's comment of facts, of *suppressio veri et suggestio falsi*. They led quiet, well-provided, unmolested lives, says Burghley, withdrawn from publicity to some extent for obvious prudential reasons,

and yet without charging them in their consciences or otherwise by any inquisition to bring them into danger of any capital law, so as none was called to any capital or bloody question upon matters of religion, but have all enjoyed their life as the course of nature would; and such of them as yet remain may, if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition, enjoy the time that God and nature shall yield them without danger of life or member.

On which whole passage Father Bridgett remarks:—

The main assertion here of Lord Burghley—that the deposed bishops were neither slaughtered nor maimed—is doubtless true (Watson's loss of sight and sciatica through imprisonment come, however, very near to maiming); but the assertion that because they were peaceable subjects they were allowed to live quiet and peaceable lives, is altogether false. He does not in so many words deny their imprisonment; yet by allowing that there was just so far an exception to their perfect freedom, that they were at one period the quasi-guests of Elizabeth's hospitable bishops, and by the declaration that they "all enjoyed their life as the course of nature would" he utterly excludes the notion of real imprisonment. Who could possibly have guessed from his words that Watson of Lincoln had already spent four-and-twenty years in confinement; Thirlby of Ely nearly eleven; Bonner of London ten; Bourne of Bath and Wells, Turberville of Exeter, Scott

of Chester, Pate of Worcester, and Heath of York—more than three? Who could have gathered that the "courteous" White of Winchester was kept in the Tower till he contracted a deadly sickness, and was then sent to his brother's house to die?—that Tunstall of Durham, notwithstanding his "high reputation and quiet behaviour," was confined in Parker's house till his death?—and that the liberty of Poole of Peterborough consisted in ranging within three miles of London? Yet these things are facts that I shall presently prove. They were known to be facts by Lord Burghley, since he was the chief author of them.

Burghley's insinuations are not only repeated, but they improved with repetition, and by the time that Dean Hook's turn comes ("Life of Parker," pp. 259 and 341), we are called upon to admire the "consideration, kindness and marked humanity" of Parker, and to "share" the "praise which is due to him" with Elizabeth and her government, and further—what is still more superfluous—we are requested to "call to mind," by way of contrast, "the rude and heartless" enforcement of anti-heresy laws in Queen Mary's reign. It will be seen that Father Bridgett has, as he says, "cause for reopening this subject"; the more so that not only do modern writers perpetuate the legend of gentleness, but after Strype's time "even Catholic writers came to acquiesce in the accuracy" of it, and the well-informed Charles Butler's statement of the fate of the bishops has to be censured by our author as being "incorrect" in "every word." Even Lingard "*understates* the amount of the persecution."

Of course other details of the last years of these confessors may yet come to light, and something be added to what Father Bridgett has so well begun; and we hope his work may stir up others to watch for opportunities to increase by ever so little our knowledge of these men who fought so well to preserve the faith. For example, to what Father Bridgett says of the burial-place which Bishop White had prepared for himself in Winchester College chapel, and upon which he had written his epitaph, we may add that this brass, with the unfinished inscription, only perished comparatively in recent years. A few years ago, through the instrumentality of a well-known Catholic of Winchester, who had taken a drawing of the original brass before its destruction, the monument was replaced. It may now be seen in the restored chapel with its completed inscription, telling how for the Catholic faith the bishop had been deprived of his See.

The two concluding chapters, which form more than one-half of the little volume, furnish the reader with complete memoirs of Bishop Watson and Bishop Goldwell. The former was collected by Father Bridgett for his edition of Bishop Watson's "*Sermons on the Sacraments*," published in 1876; and the latter is a biography of Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph's, which appeared about the same time in *The Month*. Both these are full of interest and instruction, and the latter derives a melancholy interest from the fact that Father Knox was taken from us when we might have hoped to have had many more historical works from his pen. As to Bishop Watson,

Father Bridgett, speaking of his transfer from the keeping of the Bishop of Winchester to that of Bishop Young of Rochester, says (p. 188), "It would be interesting to know in which of the houses of this bishop he resided." We are inclined to think that a "Catalogue of the Papists Imprisoned, 1579," among the Lansdowne MSS., gives indication that it was at the bishop's London house. The list first gives all the London prisons, commencing with the Tower, in which is "D. Richardus Archiep. Armachanus in Hibernia," and between the Tower and the Fleet prison are placed "In custodia Eliensis Superintend: D. Jo. Fecknam, venerabilis Abbas Westm., sexagenarius"; and "In custodia Roffensis Superintend: D. Thomas Watson, Ep. Lincolien., sexagenarius."

After Father Morris's article in our own pages* in reply to Mr. Gladstone's recent effort to prove the legality of the "Elizabethan Settlement of Religion," we need not refer at length to Father Bridgett's digression thereupon; but will only remark upon it, that his use of Bishop Scott's speech in the Parliament of 1559—a speech which, he remarks, "is clearly genuine"—in opposition to the Supremacy Bill, is interesting, as weakening the force of Mr. Gladstone's contention that Convocation had never retracted its own proceedings.

The speech of the Bishop of Chester (Cuthbert Scott) has also been preserved. He develops the necessity of unity, using the ordinary texts and arguments in defence of the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome. He mentions that there were already "thirty-four sundry sects in Christendom." He replies to certain objections: "There is alleged," he says, "a provincial council or assembly of the bishops and clergy of this realm of England [the Convocation of 1534] by which the authority of the Bishop of Rome was abolished and disallowed. But, first, a particular or provincial council can make no determination against the universal Church of Christ. Secondly, of the learned men that were the doers there, so many as be dead, before they died, *were penitent, and cried God mercy on their act*; and those that do live, as all your lordships do know, hath *openly* revoked the same, acknowledging their error.

So the bishops dead since 1534 had repented, and the survivors openly revoked their error! But, urges Mr. Gladstone, whilst the Lower House of Convocation in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign framed a document hostile to the Royal Supremacy, "the bishops took no part . . . they carefully and steadily avoided taking a part. There were, indeed, but four of them present." To this Father Bridgett has the following pertinent reply:

This is really an amazing statement. If few bishops attended Convocation, it was because all who were in London were engaged day after day in Parliament, in fighting the battle in behalf of the very supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff, which the Lower House of Convocation declared to be a Divine law of the Church (p. 23).

We have only to add, if what we have so far said does not ex-

* DUBLIN REVIEW, October 1888.

press it, our obligation to Father Bridgett for the little volume he has given us. It is full of instruction and interest, will correct many popular impressions, and manifests on every page an industry and exactness which in these days is rare. Of course there are some things we would gladly see improved. First, as to the references. If, as we sincerely hope, this book may quickly come to another edition, we would suggest a uniform method of quoting documents, which are here sometimes referred to under papers, folios, and sections. We would ask the author to think of the general reader somewhat more. Thus—*Council Register*, Vol. I., for example, does not give any clear indication as to where the verification is to be found; neither does "Ellis Orig. Lett. ii. 262," as there are no less than three second volumes, one for each series. We fear also that people generally will miss Father Bridgett's little joke in note 2 (p. 78). It was certainly absurd of the old authorities at the Museum to put "*Plut*," the contraction for *pluteus*, a bookshelf, on the binding of their manuscripts; but the general reader who may have heard of the Cotton library being placed under the guardianship of the Roman Emperors, may think from "*Pluto L. E.*" that the Harley manuscripts are dedicated to gods of the infernal regions. We would also plead for an index of some sort. In these days it is hard to oblige a reader to make his own. These are small matters which we only call attention to—with the sincere desire of making the book even more valuable than it is. To the publisher we would say: Why have you put no date on the title-page, and why this distressingly and aggressively ugly mitre, so thoroughly Protestant in design, to disfigure the cover of our author's book?

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1. *Characteristics from the Writings of Archbishop Ullathorne*. With Bibliographical Introduction. Arranged by the Rev. MICHAEL F. GLANCEY. London: Burns & Oates.
 2. *Archbishop Ullathorne*. London: The Catholic Truth Society.
 3. *A Spiritual Man*. A Sermon preached in St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, at the Solemn Requiem of the Most Reverend William Bernard Ullathorne, O.S.B., Archbishop of Cabasa and First Bishop of Birmingham. By the Right Rev. JOHN CUTHBERT HEDLEY, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London: Burns & Oates.

THE first impression left on the mind by the perusal of these three publications is the marked distinctness of lineaments in the spiritual and natural character of the late Archbishop Ullathorne. His calm strength, Benedictine stability, and spiritual wisdom, joined to an honest straightforwardness of aim, are the chief of those spiritual lineaments. How much is due to nature and how much to grace in the formation of such a character it were useless to seek, as the supernatural gifts are invariably blended most closely with

those of nature, which they elevate and supernaturalize, while grace, as the old mystics taught, puts on, as it were, flesh and blood, and receives its colouring from nature. But strength, straightforwardness, and the wisdom of the Spirit, were assuredly the most prominent of Archbishop Ullathorne's characteristics, tempered as they were by a kindly warmth of heart and rooted in the deepest humility. After a fashion he was conscious of this himself. That is to say, these characteristics were the ideal after which he strove during his whole life. Thus, when he would describe a Catholic bishop, he writes :—

If ever a Catholic bishop was strong, he is strong in this hour of the world's history. He is strong because he is free. He is strong because he lives a simple and frugal life. He is strong because he is a bishop, and nothing but a bishop; strong, therefore, in the vivid consciousness of his high office. Strong he is in the affections of his people, of a people who hold the faith with loss of advantage in this world; this makes the representative of that faith all the dearer to their souls. Strong, and vigorously strong, is he, because more closely than ever united with the apostolic chair. Such is the Catholic bishop of this nineteenth century.

Such was undoubtedly the late Bishop of Birmingham, and we may complete our notice of this one of his characteristics by what he wrote elsewhere :—

All strength of mind is in the truth of God, and all strength of heart in the charity of God. Think of Him and love Him, and you will be strong with a double strength. Mind, I do not say you will be strong in yourself—quite the contrary. A strong-minded woman is a mind that is as cold and stark as a piece of iron; brittle nevertheless, and breaking down in places not expected. And we all know what a wilful woman, having her own way, is. True strength is a most subtle force, neither stiff, nor unbending, nor unyielding; nay, it is wonderfully responsive to God, and pliant to all His ways.

In one word, Christian strength is in humility. And this humility is truth and wisdom. Wisdom, spiritual wisdom, is the one of Archbishop Ullathorne's characteristics which the Bishop of Newport and Menevia, with true discernment, singled out for the principal theme of his eloquent funeral sermon. It belongs to wisdom to judge effects in their causes; but the spiritual man judges of all things by their highest causes :—

Though the world is wonderful, and beautiful, and admirable [said the preacher] yet the universe revealed to the Spirit is grander and more lovely still. The heights and depths of grace, the sunshine of Divine Presence, the beauty and variety of the Church, the clear horizon of the everlasting hills—these are the world of the Spirit. It is nobler than the wisdom of sense; for sense is short-sighted, and sense can only take in what time and mortality present; but the Spirit knows the glorious past and grasps the bewildering future; the Spirit sees and hears the unembodied realities which are round about us everywhere.

Not that Archbishop Ullathorne was a stranger to the social questions that agitate the world; few men knew them better. Read through the list of his publications prefixed to the "Characteristics," and extending over a period of some fifty years and more, his writings on

the Educational question, transportation of criminals, prison discipline, Fenianism, the attitude of the German Chancellor towards the Church, evidence given before Parliamentary Committees, &c., are intermingled with controversial and ascetic discourses, lectures on humility, or instructions addressed to religious women. For these last he laboured much, to the end that, in Bishop Hedley's words, "the woman consecrated to God might walk at peace in the large and airy cloister of knowledge, rational obedience, and theological direction," words that translate into one short formula the ideal of St. Teresa. But if Archbishop Ullathorne was no stranger to the world, his knowledge of it was part of his spiritual wisdom. How a priest ought to "know the world" is a point of such vital importance that we ask leave to give one more quotation from himself:—

If by knowing the world is meant mixing in its ways and tasting its follies, its vanities, its pretensions, and its seductions, we want no such knowledge. It would not only be a profanation of the ecclesiastical state, but an actual blinding of the soul to the real character of the world. Yet this is what worldly men mean when they talk of knowing life and knowing the world. There is a far more effective way of knowing the world, and that is to keep it far enough off to prevent it from blinding our minds, and so measuring and weighing it and its ways by an accurate standard—that is to say, by the light and law of a pure conscience. This is God's way of knowing the world, and this is also the ecclesiastical way of knowing it.

Brief as is the *Life* published by the Catholic Truth Society, one is not tempted to lay it down before it has been read through, as is too often the case in short *Lives*. It serves, above all else, to show how the outward surroundings of William Bernard Ullathorne built up the strong, self-disciplined character of the Bishop. His early sailor's life, his Benedictine training, his rough colonial travel, his life in a convict settlement, all helped to foster earnestness in God's service. For a long time he strove against his elevation to the Episcopate; for no man had a more exalted or truer idea of that sublime dignity. When consulted as to whether it would be advisable to send out a Prefect Apostolic or a Bishop to New Caledonia, he replied: "My experience tells me that even if you send but two priests, one of them ought to be a bishop. For the Episcopate is the generative power of the Church. A priest does not see things with the same eye, or from the same elevation, or from the same depth of responsibility. He can only employ those who are sent to him; while a bishop creates a clergy proportionate to his wants, and holds that clergy firmly together."

The last of his characteristics here to be noted is the love he had for St. Benedict and the Order to which he belonged. By a grace such as is often vouchsafed to devout souls, it was granted to him to die on the Feast of this holy Patriarch, as if St. Benedict had willed to welcome his dear child home at the close of his day's work. Not many years of his life had he been able to spend in the cloister, but, like St. Gregory the Great, he ever thirsted for its quiet and solitude, while fighting with the world his Master's battle. Yet his spirit was

ever a monastic one ; in his love of prayer, in his persevering laboriousness, in his lifelong devotion to reading, in his esteem of silence, in his spiritual simplicity and unworldliness. His greatness was of that kind that the spiritual man can rightly appreciate, of which one might write what he wrote of humility ; that "as the pillar that led Israel from Egypt to the Land of Promise was both light and cloud" so the lives of such men "are light to the children of belief, whilst to the children of this world they take the appearance of an obscure and unintelligible cloud."

The London Charterhouse : its Monks and its Martyrs. With a Short Account of the English Carthusians after the Dissolution. By DOM LAURENCE HENDRIKS, Monk of St. Hugh's Charterhouse, Sussex. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.

THE recent decree of the Holy Father, which enrolled so many of the monks of the London Charterhouse among the Blessed, and the revival within the last decade of Carthusian life in England, are sufficient explanation of, and ample apology, were apology needed, for the publication of this handsome work. In type and binding, and, above all, in the beauty and varied interest of the illustrations, this history of the Charterhouse of the Salutation of the Mother of God is all that could be desired, and Dom Hendricks' labours to perpetuate the memory of a celebrated monastery are fittingly enshrined in one of the most beautiful volumes with which our English Catholic literature has been of late enriched. The value of a work of this kind may not at first be generally recognized ; to a considerable number of readers it may seem as if the time and labour spent upon the compilation of the history of a single religious house might have been better employed upon some work of wider interest. This objection is one which cannot be entertained. Lamentable as are the deficiencies in the historical literature of English Catholicity, it must be remembered that before we can be said to possess a true knowledge of any period, the detailed knowledge of local and restricted phases is absolutely necessary ; an *Anglia Christiana* will alone be within the range of possibilities when each diocese has found its historian, each man of mark, clerical or lay, his biographer. The annals of our religious Orders, too, have for the most part yet to be written. When the work of Dr. Oliver and Father Knox, of the Oratory ; of Dom Gasquet, Brother Foley, and Father Bridgett, and of others who might be named, has found a host of imitators, then, and only then, will it be possible to deal satisfactorily with the wider features of our ecclesiastical history. Dom Hendricks' contribution to this slowly accumulating mass of material is of value, for he has given us a very readable and reliable account of one of the most remarkable of mediæval monasteries. For such we must consider the London Charterhouse ; remarkable, not so much for its antiquity, for it existed only for about one hundred and three score years, nor for its

services to letters or art, for of these things its chroniclers are silent, but rather for that greater glory which was earned for it by the martyrdom of so many of its sons in the early days of the Tudor persecution. Faithful when all around were wavering in their faith, true unto death when so many preferred a dishonoured life, a tarnished reputation to the martyr's crown, the Carthusians of Smithfield deserve our veneration and our love.

We are glad for another reason that this work has been written. In the history, as in the economy of the Church, the monasteries of the older Orders occupy a different position from that held by more modern religious institutes. Among the Carthusians, as in the parent rule of St. Benedict, and the earlier foundations of Canons Regular, each community had its separate existence, and formed a body corporate, with its administration and organization complete within itself; an arrangement which almost necessarily followed the vow of stability which bound the Benedictine to the monastery of his profession. Some points of contact there would often be between house and house, some right of visitation perhaps from the mother house to its offshoots, some bond of mutual prayer, some sort of congregational union, especially in the later Middle Ages; but for the most part the history of any monastic house was as distinct from that of others as were the local customs and spirit which differentiated one abbey from another. Even among the Carthusians, where the very real dependence of each charterhouse on the prior of the Grande Chartreuse might have seemed to render such an arrangement unnecessary, a monk was required to make a second profession if for any reason he was obliged to reside in another monastery than that in which he had vowed stability. From this it will perhaps be more easily seen how the history of one monastery would, like its spirit or tone, differ from that of others of the same order. The local and individual character of the house or community, its social position, its environment, would develop as time went on; and the reader who should expect to find among the older monastic houses that strict uniformity of aim and similarity of method which is characteristic of the great Orders of modern institution would be under a very serious misapprehension. With some allowance for the centralization of government in the Grande Chartreuse, and the limited expansion of the Order, the above remarks hold good in the history of the Carthusian houses, the strict seclusion and silence of the children of St. Bruno, and their close adhesion to the primitive ideal of their founder, were additional checks to the growth of local or national characteristics which were wanting to the Benedictines or Canons Regular. Of these things Dom Hendriks is not altogether silent, nor is he unable to say a few words in vindication or explanation of such points of the Carthusian rule as seem most open to criticism. With a very engaging frankness, Father Hendriks, after pointing out that his Order has been of some service to the Church at large, thus puts the case for its continuance in the world of to-day:—

Still the objection is not fully met. It is no longer necessary to go to the cloister in search of suitable men to fill episcopal Sees; there is now no opportunity for laying down one's life for the faith, except, perhaps, on distant missions; a less austere rule, a less inviolable enclosure, are nowadays more conducive to successful literary work, in consequence of improved general education, and on account of public libraries having to a certain degree replaced those of the monasteries; and the printing press has altogether outstripped the monastic copyists. Can we not therefore conclude that the purely contemplative life has had its day, and that Carthusian monks should exist only in the history of the past? The Carthusians think not; for these things are not, nor were they ever, the objects of their Order, but simply the overflowings of the fulness of its interior spiritual life. The great objects of the Order have always been the personal sanctification of its members, the singing of God's praises, and intercessory prayer for the living and the dead. Hence it seems to follow that a Christian who believes in the efficacy of prayer could not, except from thoughtlessness or want of instruction, doubt that the Order has its utility, not only for its own members, but also for the faithful at large. Solitude makes prayer more continual and less distracted; freedom from all inordinate or imperfect attachment, and entire indifference as to this life's honours and preferments, which follow from utter separation from the outside world, render prayer more universal and disinterested, while fasting and other mortifications add, we think, not a little to its efficaciousness.

Such was the ruling idea of the first Carthusians: a life of strict retirement and self-denial, a life wherein the ideals of monk and hermit were happily blended, a life which, as the nine monasteries of the Order which of old existed in England bear witness, was not without its attractions to our Catholic forefathers.

The Order of St. Bruno, introduced into England in 1178 or 1181 (our author inclines to the earlier date), made its first settlement at Witham in Somersetshire; and though the sanctity of its third prior, St. Hugh, was known to all the world, but few were found to persevere in a vocation to the retirement and rigid asceticism of the Carthusian life. At any rate it was forty years before a second foundation was called for; and Hinton, another Somersetshire house, was the first "daughter," to use a Cistercian term, of Witham. Sixty years passed and a third house was begun, this time in Ireland, but after about forty years this single attempt to plant the Order in Irish soil had to be abandoned. The next monastery founded was that of Beauvale in Nottinghamshire, 1343. The London Charterhouse dates from 1370. The fourteenth century, indeed, saw the rise of most of the English homes of the white robed monks of St. Bruno—St. Michael's at Hull (1378), St. Anne's at Coventry (1381); an abortive attempt at Totnes which only lasted from 1383 to 1386; the Monastery of the Visitation in the Isle of Axholme, and Mount Grace in Yorkshire (1397), were all established in this century. The last foundation of the Order in England was that at Sheen, near Richmond, dedicated with a quaint and homely piety to Jesus of Bethlehem by its founder, King Henry V. (1414). The Charterhouse at Perth, another royal foundation, was the only monastery of the Order in Scotland, and dated from 1429. Of these abodes of prayer and silence Dom Hendrick does not tell us very much, but

of the London monastery, with which he is chiefly concerned, he gives a very full and life-like picture, from its foundation in 1370 by Sir Walter de Manny and the Dominican Bishop of London, Michael de Northburgh, till its destruction in Henry's reign. Thanks to the vivid details bequeathed by D. Maurice Chauncey we know the inner life of the community in its latter days, when it was presided over by Blessed John Houghton, better perhaps than of any other; certainly than of any other English monastery of that date. The story of the vocation of this monk, the virtues of a second, the imperfections of a third, are told us in all simplicity and truth; for monastic annalists are above all things lovers of truth, and are too wise to try and ignore the occasional lapses of the unwary or fickle brother. Father Chauncey has left a most interesting account of the miraculous preservation and vocation of a saintly Irish monk, D. William Tynbygh, who "was deemed worthy to be the Father and director of most of the English Carthusian martyrs. They received at his hands the habit of the Order; they pronounced in his presence their holy vows; they took under his guidance their first steps in the way of religious perfection, and began their preparation for the cruel death which was to gain for them everlasting renown." Dom Tynbygh governed the house as prior for twenty-nine years (1500-1529); and "within two years after his resignation of office he died in the odour of sanctity." After the brief priorate of his successor, D. John Batmanson (1529-1531), the Blessed John Houghton was appointed to the office, and the history of his prudent administration in the troubled times in which his lot was cast occupies a large portion of Dom Hendriks' volume. Fortunately, as we have stated, the materials for this part of his work are comparatively abundant, and our author has compiled from the account left by D. Maurice Chauncey, an eye-witness, from the Life of Lady Dormer, Duchess of Feria, and from the letters and papers preserved in the national archives, a consecutive and graphic account of the series of events which ended in the martyrdom of a great portion of the community and the final suppression of the house. One episode in the death struggle between the king and the monks is particularly melancholy. D. Andrew Bord, the original "Merry Andrew" it is believed, growing weary of the "rugurosyte" of the Carthusian life, left the monastery "without a dispensation from the Bishop of Rome," and went abroad. Some scruple or whim led him to the Grande Chartreuse, where he gave his own account of what was taking place in England, and prejudiced the minds of the head of the Order against his children who were suffering so bravely in the Church's cause. At a time when a letter of encouragement, or at least of sympathy, from their Father and Superior, would have been of untold comfort to the London Carthusians, all they received was this cold and dispiriting message:—"The Father of the head Charterhouse advises you to love God and obey the King, being sorry to hear that there have been wilful and sturdy opinions amongst you to the contrary."

We cannot, as we should wish, follow Father Hendricks in his history of those dark but glorious days. Everything that his pious care could gather of the words or deeds of the Carthusian martyrs of England will here be found, whether told in all the simplicity of the monastic chronicle or abbreviated from the prolixity of the legal process whereby they were done to death.

A more mundane interest attaches to the story of the brief revival of a Carthusian monastery in the reign of Queen Mary, a revival due in large measure to the devotedness of Father Maurice Chauncey, whose later life was ample atonement for his brief but unwilling acquiescence in the dogma of the royal supremacy in her father's time. The new Charterhouse of Sheen was not destined for a long existence, at any rate on English soil; but Father Chauncey, nothing daunted, found a new home for his much-suffering community in Catholic Flanders. From Bruges to Louvain, from Louvain to Mechlin, from Mechlin to Nieuport, the successors of the martyrs wandered in search of that peace which the world cannot give; at the last-named place they found a resting-place from 1626 till the final dispersion of their little community on the 30th of June, 1783, by edict of the Emperor Joseph II. During that period their affairs were not always, or for long, in a very flourishing condition; want of means, sickness, lack of vocations, often threatened them with extinction. There is in the archives of the See of Southwark, a paper dated March 17, 1762, wherein the surviving "Seniors of the house of Shene Richmond, now of Nieuport," make application for the appointment of an English prior; "a fatal sickness which raged on these coasts has within the space of a month carried off our worthy Prior Father Fleming, Fr. Blevin, our Procurator, and two others," and accordingly "Fr. Gilbert Jump, Vicar Unworthy, Fr. Macarius Fornby and Fr. Laurence Corneforth, Seniors, and FF. Man and Williams, Juniors," solicit the intervention of their friends to prevent their house passing under foreign government. We mention this, as Dom Hendricks makes no mention of the document from which we have quoted. It is almost the last chapter in the history of the convent, which never recovered from this fatal epidemic. Of the surviving monks, the last prior, Father Williams, who, to the end, was a model of every Carthusian virtue, died at Little Malvern on the 2nd of June, 1797; and with the death in Lancashire of another monk of the house, D. Bruno Finch,* the English Carthusian Province became extinct. With the restoration of the Order in England at Parkminster in Sussex, the pious reader may see the beginning of the fulfilment of the promise made by our Lord to Father Norton, last prior but one, of Mount Grace in Yorkshire, that "the time shall come that where there was one house of your Order there shall be three."

* He died March 3, 1821. See his epitaph in Gillow's "Haydock Papers."

The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus, of the Order of Our Lady of Carmel.
Written by Herself. Translated from the Spanish by DAVID
LEWIS. Second Edition. London: St. Anselm's Society,
5 Agar Street. 1888.

IN a former number of this REVIEW,* an interesting account was given of the manner in which the world had been defrauded of a complete and faithful edition of St. Teresa's works from her death in 1582 to the appearance of Père Bouix's French translation, some twenty-five years ago. It appears that the earliest Madrid editors took liberties with the text, and that the evil had gone on increasing with each subsequent edition, despite the public complaints of the Discalced Carmelites. Hatred of the Jesuits, and Jansenist dishonesty, notably displayed in Arnauld's version, which Migne unwisely reprinted, had been among the causes of the mischief, from which the several English translations by Sir Tobie Matthews, Abraham Woodhead, and Canon Dalton, being made on faulty editions, could not be exempt.

Père Bouix was the first to stem the tide of evil by collating St. Teresa's original manuscripts, which are mostly still in existence. He, moreover, arranged in chronological order her letters, that is to say, such fragmentary remains (a little upwards of 350) as have escaped the wholesale destruction of her correspondence; but Bouix's work was only a translation, and since his time Don Vicente de la Fuente, in his admirable edition of the original text, made from the Saint's MSS., and published in two volumes by Rivadeneira, of Madrid, has brought things almost as near perfection as we are perhaps destined to have them. This necessitated, of course, a new English translation.

The magnificent volume before us contains the Saint's Life, written by herself, and her Relations. As we are told in the Preface, the Life we now possess is not the one written for the Dominican Father, Pedro Ibañez, which she began in the monastery of the Incarnation at Avila, and finished in the house of Doña Luisa de la Cerda, at Toledo. That earlier work has disappeared, and had never been printed. The present *Vida* was written at the bidding of the Inquisitor, Don Soto de Salazar, as St. Teresa declares in her Relation, written in 1575, and completed by the addition of her account of the founding of St. Joseph's Monastery, at the desire of another of her Dominican confessors, Father Garcia de Toledo, to whom the Bollandists have given the credit of having simply ordered the writing of the *Vida*.

The Relations of St. Teresa's spiritual state, submitted by her to her confessors at different periods of her career, are a fitting complement to her Life. Among these confessors were St. Peter of Alcantara, Father Pedro Ibañez, O.P.; Father Jerome Gratian, her Provincial; Bishop Alonzo Velasquez, Father Rodrigo Alvarez,

* October 1863. "Letters of St. Teresa."

S.J., &c. These writings are of surpassing interest and beauty. The translator further informs his English readers that Don Vicente, from whose edition he is translating, has edited the *Vida* from the original text in the Saint's own handwriting, preserved among the relics of the Church of the Escorial, and whereof an exact transcript, made by order of Ferdinand VI., is kept in the National Library at Madrid. An ancient portrait of the Saint, representing her at an advanced age, has been photographed, and serves as a frontispiece to the present translation.

Mr. Lewis gives as a second reason for republishing his translation of the *Life*, that copies of it in an English translation, even in the latest, by Canon Dalton, have become very rare. The popularity of this part of St. Teresa's writings has always been great. The exquisite literary charm of the Spanish original in style and language must, of course, to a very great extent, be lost in an English version, however ably made; but the autobiography of a St. Teresa, in whom the highest gifts of genius were united with an exquisite candour and purity of heart and mind, could not but be singularly attractive, even when read through a translation. Far above this is, of course, its value as a mine of spiritual wisdom. Although the title of Doctor of the Church has not been awarded by the Holy See to any female saint, yet the public testimony of Gregory XV. and Urban VIII. to her eminence in the science of the Saints, the language of the Church in the Collect of her Feast, beseeching the Almighty "that we may be nourished by the food of her celestial doctrine," and the authority of great theologians like Suarez, assures us that to her belongs in heaven the aureola of those who are called Doctors of the Church; but whether we consider in Teresa the saint, the doctor, or the apostle—for such indeed was her mission, even by her own showing—the *Life* must hold an important place among the treasures that remain to us from her pen. A word on each of these three spiritual characteristics of St. Teresa.

And first as to the peculiar character of her sanctity. Here there exists an endless variety among the saints, arising in great part from the gifts of nature, on which grace has been engrafted. A St. Francis of Sales is not a St. Benedict Joseph Labre, and the sanctity of the fiery St. Jerome stands in marked contrast to that of the gentle St. Chrysostom. As an acknowledged authority on mystical theology (D. Schram, O.S.B., vol. ii., [s. 351] writes: "Sanctity usually adapts itself to the natural capacity, and becomes childlike in children, simple-minded in such as are dull of understanding, without prudence in such as lack that gift; while it is in women, refined, retiring, modest and solitude-loving; courageous and daring in young men; venerable, calm, and sobered by experience in the aged." St. Teresa's spiritual character bears the stamp of her firm, well-balanced and vivacious intellect; while her warm-hearted, affectionate and unconstrained spirit, tempered by a frequent undercurrent of playful satire, give her *Life* a charm almost unequalled among autobiographies. The nearest approach to it is perhaps in a

brief autobiographical fragment of another noble lady and saint, the Acts of St. Perpetua.

Her claims upon us as a light and teacher of the spiritual life form too vast a subject to be even lightly touched upon in a brief notice like this. Two cardinal points are forcibly brought before us in this work. One is, the immense importance she attaches to theological learning for advancing in devotion and sanctity. Her fear of having souls cramped and fettered by the mistakes of unlearned directors was the one great terror of her life, just as liberty of spirit was her constant aim. She would tolerate no fanciful or untheological devotions. "From silly devotions (*las devociones bobas*) may God deliver us," was her constant prayer. Contemplative nuns, above all others, should have learned divines to direct them, according to St. Teresa. The other great feature in her writings, and most especially in the *Life*, is the vast portion occupied by mystic theology. In these higher ways of God with the children of men, ways that are governed by laws of their own, she reigns supreme as teacher and guide. The study of these ways is in itself a sublime science. Nowhere is the need so great of a sober and chastened spirit, and of an evenly balanced intellect. Yet this very science of mystical theology throws a flood of light on many obscure problems, even in rational philosophy. The danger of ignorance in the more elementary parts of this science is often alluded to by the Saint in passages like the following :—

I was once with a person—it was at the very beginning of my acquaintance with her—when our Lord was pleased to show me that these friendships were not good for me; to warn me, also, and in my blindness, which was so great, to give me light. Christ stood before me, stern and grave, giving me to understand what in my conduct was offensive to Him. I saw Him with the eyes of the soul more distinctly than I could have seen Him with the eyes of the body. The vision made so deep an impression on me that, though it is more than twenty-six years ago, I seem to see Him present even now. I was greatly astonished and disturbed, and I resolved not to see that person again.

It did me much harm that I did not then know it was possible to see anything otherwise than with the eyes of the body; so did Satan, too, in that he helped me to think so; he made me understand it to be impossible.

We have no space to speak of St. Teresa's Apostolate—to wit, of that divine mission she knew herself to have received to oppose the prayers of her cloistered nuns to the advances of Protestantism. We trust none will be deterred from reading her *Life* by the erroneous idea of its being an unintelligible work, save to privileged souls. The greatest part of it can be understood by any one. It is true that, from Chapter XIV. to Chapter XXII. the Saint deals with mystical theology, and this part might be omitted by the unlearned. It was a remark of Father Faber's, and a very true one, that souls given to a deluded and false spirituality have always an instinctive dread of St. Teresa's writings; and so with much thankfulness to Mr. Lewis for his labour of love, we take leave of his noble volume.

Historicæ et Criticæ Introductionis in U.T. Libros Sacros Compendium.
S. Theologiæ auditoribus accommodatum. Auctore RUDOLPHO
CORNELY, S.J. Parisiis: P. Lethielleux. 1889.

FATHER CORNELY'S Historical and Critical Introduction to Books of the Old and New Testament is without doubt the best that has yet appeared. The work as a whole is of immense value to the student, though the chief interest centres in the two volumes of special introduction to the several books. It is in these volumes chiefly that Father Cornely's profound and extensive reading proves of such service to the reader. He shows himself to be thoroughly conversant with Scripture literature; not with the works of Catholics only, but also with those of Protestants and Rationalists. He lays down plainly the objections that are brought against the sacred text, and he indicates clearly the lines upon which the Catholic interpreter should take up the defence of the Word of God.

Such in a word is Father Cornely's Introduction to Sacred Scripture. It has one serious drawback in regard to a large number of readers and students. It is too long. We do not for a moment suggest that it is diffuse, or even longer than the importance and complexity of the subject require. We merely state that its length places it outside the reach of many students. To meet the convenience of such as these, Father Cornely has been persuaded to publish the volume we have before us, which is in fact merely an abridgment of his larger work. The arrangement of both is alike; so much so, indeed, that they correspond paragraph for paragraph. The arguments and objections adduced in the larger work are brought forward again in the present volume, abbreviated, it is true: still, clearly and forcibly put. Much space has, however, been gained by omitting the copious references to and extracts from writers, with whom Father Cornely's wide reading has made him familiar. These references and extracts add greatly to the value of the larger work, but their omission is an obvious necessity in a compendium.

Some will be disappointed because the learned author has not elected to discuss the important question of Inspiration in the volume before us. To us he seems to have acted not unwisely. None will deny that the subject is one of primary importance. But then it is one that belongs rather to theology properly so called, and can hardly be omitted in introductory treatises on that subject. On the other hand, so much space in our Scripture text-books is required in these days to treat adequately difficult questions relating to the authorship, date, and authenticity of the sacred writings that such a subject as Inspiration may fairly be left to the theological Handbooks. Father Cornely does not leave his readers without guidance as to the interpretation of the sacred text. Perhaps the most interesting and instructive portion of this volume is that devoted to laying down principles on the interpretation of Holy Scripture. What

is meant by the veracity of Holy Writ is stated and explained, whilst at the same time the interpreter is warned against introducing his own private views and bringing the Word of God into contradiction with the profane sciences:—in the sage words of St. Augustine: “Nihil temere affirmandum, sed caute omnia modesteque tractanda” nec “incognitum pro cognito asserendum.” Father Cornely’s words upon the interpretation of Holy Scripture are golden, and deserve the careful attention of any that in these days approach to the expounding and elucidation of the Word of God.

Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures. By JOHN MACDEVITT, D.D.
Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker.

IF it be a fact that the study of Sacred Scripture is not widely spread among English and Irish Catholics, they are not without excuse. Most Catholic text-books are written in Latin, and the few we have in English are voluminous, and were not written to meet the requirements of the present day. Dr. MacDevitt has done much towards supplying what was wanted in publishing the present volume. It contains a concise and clear outline of accepted Catholic teaching on Sacred Scripture. Inspiration is explained and defended. The history of the Canon is related. The traditional view of the Church as to the dates and authorship of the books of the Old and New Testaments is briefly given. Besides this many pages are devoted to explaining the more prominent theories of modern science as to the antiquity of man, the Deluge, the original unity of the human race, and their relation to the early chapters of the Book of Genesis. It is hardly necessary to say that the author does not attempt to set forth at length the arguments either in favour of or telling against such speculations on the part of scientific men as we have alluded to. He merely points out some of the more important theories, and then lays down the attitude of mind which the Catholic student ought to maintain in regard to them. “I feel,” says Dr. MacDevitt in the preface, “that at a time when the age is embittered with angry controversy on the authority of Scripture, it is desirable to have a direct statement of Catholic teaching on this solemn question.” Dr. MacDevitt aims at giving us a “direct statement of Catholic teaching” on Sacred Scripture, and he has done so in a very useful and readable volume.

Commentarius in Jeremiam Prophetam. Auctore JOSEPHO KNABENBAUER, S.J. Parisiis: P. Lethielleux. 1889.

FATHER KNABENBAUER, it need hardly be said, regards the prophecy of Jeremias as the Word of God, and the first object of his work is accordingly to expound carefully and reverently the meaning of the text. His manner of executing this task

evidences true scholarship. Throughout his pages the author displays wide reading and thorough grasp of the subject, and though his primary object is the elucidation of the sacred text, still when occasion requires it he shows himself to be a skilful and powerful defender of the Inspired Word. Father Knabenbauer informs his readers that the appearance of the present volume was considerably delayed, owing to the interference of the French Government with the religious community engaged in printing it. This is the explanation also of the fact that, from page 161, the type differs somewhat from that used in the earlier part of the book. "It is an ill wind that blows nobody good," and the delay has not been altogether without its advantages. It has enabled Father Knabenbauer to read through, and express his opinion upon, the Rev. George Workman's book, published this year, entitled "The Text of Jeremiah." As is well known, one of the great difficulties that commentators have to encounter in dealing with the prophecy of Jeremiah is the very marked divergency that exists between the Septuagint and the Hebrew. Father Knabenbauer finds that in many cases Mr. Workman has followed in the steps of previous writers. He considers him successful in demonstrating that the differences between the Greek and Hebrew cannot be attributed entirely to the interpreters. On the other hand, in comparing the Hebrew with the Greek, Mr. Workman has taken into account the Tischendorf edition of the Greek text only, which is based upon the Vatican Codex, whilst Father Knabenbauer has considered the text as it is presented by many other sources. Our author considers he is justified in concluding (1) That neither the Hebrew nor the Greek is absolutely incorrupt. (2) That in many places the Greek is to be preferred to the Hebrew. (3) That some undue omissions occur in the Greek text. (4) That there are in the Greek text traces of emendations due to prejudice, on account of which the trustworthiness of that text is not above suspicion. (5) That finally the servility with which, as a rule, the Greek translator follows the Hebrew seems to point to the fact that he cannot have used the Masoretic text, but some Hebrew original, differing from the Hebrew as we have it, where the Greek differs. Still Father Knabenbauer would not push this last conclusion too far, as many variations in the text may have arisen from the similarity that exists between certain Hebrew letters, the use of different unwritten vowels with consonants expressed, and other like causes.

The notes upon the text seem to us the most valuable part of the present volume. In critical difficulties regarding the authorship and authenticity of the prophecy, the learned author not unfrequently refers his readers to Father Cornely, who, as is well known, has written the general Introduction, to the series of which the present volume forms one number. When occasion calls for it, however, he himself does not fail to enter the lists in defence of the inspired writer. To us the difficulty which is raised as to chapter lii. does

not seem great. Why could not Jeremias have lived till 650 before Christ, and have reached the age of eighty-five? Of course the Messianic prophecies contained in chapters xxxi., xxxii. and xxxiii., are called in question, and attacked on all sides. The writer of them is said to have copied the so-called Deutero-Isaiah: as if it were not well known that Jeremias imitates the style of many of his predecessors. We have brought against us what is called the inept introduction of the Levitical priests (xxxviii. 18). But the meaning of the passage is clear from the context. As there will not be wanting legitimate kings, so neither will a genuine priesthood ever be wanting to carry out the higher rites of the new law; priests of the race of Levi, being taken as equivalent to true, genuine priests. The Samaritans are introduced, says De Wette Schrader, in xxxiii. 24, whereas in reality, as Father Knabenbauer points out, the allusion is to Jews without spirit or confidence. *Hic populus*, he shows by frequent citation, refers in Jeremias to Israel, and most frequently with some reprehension.

The present volume is a worthy contribution to the great commentary which the German Jesuits have undertaken to publish. Its scholarship and critical ability merit for it what we wish it, wide popularity among Biblical students.

The Ascent of Mount Carmel. By ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS, of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Translated from the Spanish, with a Life of the Saint, by DAVID LEWIS, M.A. Second Edition, Revised. London: Thomas Baker. 1889.

MR. BAKER is doing a good service to Catholic literature by issuing at a moderate price handsome library editions of standard Catholic works. In the volume before us many readers will, we imagine, find more that is of interest in Mr. Lewis's *Life of the Saint* than in the *Ascent of Mount Carmel*. Three hundred pages are devoted to the biography; it is no mere sketch, but a finished picture, from the hand of one who knows the Catholic aspects of Spain in the sixteenth century better than any other living English writer. The story of St. John's life is a marvellous one, in some respects there is nothing else like it in the annals of the Church. Heroic endurance of suffering at the hands of those who should have been his foremost helpers in his life-work, equally heroic perseverance in the great work he had undertaken for the glory of God—these are the keynotes of his life. He shares with St. Teresa the glory of the reform of the great Carmelite Order, one to which, through the brown scapular, almost every Catholic is in some way affiliated. In his "*Ascent of Mount Carmel*" St. John traces his own high ideal of the spiritual life. The treatise completes the picture drawn in Mr. David Lewis's biography. There is no need

to recommend a work like this. We need only note with satisfaction that Mr. Baker is issuing it at a price that will place it within the reach of many who have not large sums to expend in filling their library shelves.

Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Peter. By MARGARET R. KING. Two volumes. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1889.

THIS is the Life of an American lady, who, although her name will probably be unfamiliar to readers of these pages, accomplished a great work for the Church in the United States. Born in Ohio in 1800, of a wealthy family, she was well educated, and from her earliest years showed the energy of character which distinguished her through her long life. Brought up as an Episcopalian, she became a Catholic in middle life, and devoted no small portion of her resources and personal efforts to founding convents of the Good Shepherd and of the Sisters of Mercy in the cities of the States. Always ready for works of charity, she had done good service in the hospitals during the civil war. But her activity was many-sided. The promotion of art education, and generally of the higher culture of women, was one of her favourite pursuits. She travelled much in America, in Europe, and in the Holy Land, and her letters home to her friends give pleasant pictures of places she visited and events she witnessed. The lesson of her life is that great and good work is done, not so much by spending money as by devoting personal interest and personal effort to the cause we have at heart. It is much easier to get money for good works than this persevering and intelligent personal service. We have only one regret in connection with these handsome and eminently readable volumes, and that is, that for some reason not stated the publishers have only issued three hundred copies. The book is worthy of a much wider circle of readers.

The Bible and the Papacy. By the Rev. R. BELANEY, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.

THE author of this little volume, who uses the word "Papacy" more frequently for the Catholic Church than, in its more restricted sense, for the Roman See, has collected, chiefly from the Old Testament, a large number of prophetic passages referring to the Church of Christ. He argues with vigour and incisiveness: but the total absence of headings or division into chapters detracts from the readableness and usefulness of his work. The actual status of the Church in this nineteenth century is kept steadily in view, a fact which often lends additional interest to his argument; as where,

for example, alluding to the fulfilment of Malachi's prophecy, he calculates that every half-hour of the twenty-four hours throughout the year twelve thousand priests ascend the altar steps to offer the Sacrifice of the New Law.

Ecclesiastical Antiquities of London and its Suburbs. By ALEXANDER WOOD, M.A. Oxon. London: Burns & Oates.

MR. WOOD has given us a remarkably entertaining book, which will be quite as acceptable to the student as to the visitor of London's ecclesiastical antiquities. In less than four hundred pages Mr. Wood compresses a vast amount of information which, though professing to be chiefly of architectural and antiquarian character, is necessarily full of historic fact and reference. The plan of the work is to divide London and its suburbs into nine walks. We give the enumeration of the "first walk": "Holborn, Holborn Viaduct, Giltspur Street, West Smithfield, Smithfield Bar, St. John's Lane, St. John's Square, Clerkenwell Close, Great Aylesbury Street, St. John Street, Great Sutton Street, Whitecross Street, Charterhouse Square, Aldersgate Street, Fore Street, London Wall, Winchester Street, Austin Friars, Old Broad Street, Wormwood Street, Bishopsgate Street, Spital Square, Cornhill, Leadenhall Street, Billiter Street, Hart Street, Crutched Friars, Seething Lane, Great Tower Street." We have quoted this walk in full because it shows at a glance how closely and minutely the ground is covered. The names are each and all suggestive of churches, or convents, or hospitals, or of pious founders, or of great historic events; and at every step Mr. Wood has some fact or detail of interest to communicate. Every page of the book is a rich and varied chronicle of the past, and quotations such as we have space for can convey little idea of the sustained ability of the book. Coming to "Charterhouse," we have much about the Carthusians, including the sad martyrdom of its last prior, Blessed John Houghton, and his companions.

Such a scene as hanging priests in their vestments was never before known to Englishmen. The faces of these men did not grow pale, their voices did not choke; they declared themselves liege subjects of the king and obedient children of Holy Church, giving thanks that they were held worthy to suffer for the truth.

Of much value are the notices of St. Paul's, the Temple, Old London Bridge, Westminster Abbey, and the Tower, with its Church of "St. Peter ad Vincula," of which Macaulay wrote, "There is no sadder spot on the earth than that little cemetery." But lesser places, too, come in for a full share of attention. "At the Church of St. Magnus, London Bridge, a guild of Our Lady, 'de Salve Regina' was established in Edward III.'s reign. Here was a chantry, where the *Salve Regina* was sung every evening. Five wax lights burned at St. Magnus in honour of the 'five principal

joys of Our Lady.'” While we are here we may quote a legend of the old bridge :

A pedlar of Swaffham, in Norfolk, saw one night, in a dream, a figure that said to him “ Rise, and go to London Bridge, and there thou shalt find a treasure.” The pedlar failed to obey, and next night he saw the same figure, and was bidden to delay no more, but to depart immediately. Still the pedlar hesitated, and yet again the same figure appeared and bade him instantly begone. This time he obeyed, and taking his dog with him set forth for London. Up and down the bridge he wandered a whole day, and no one appeared till towards dusk a man came up and asked the cause of his protracted promenade. Reluctantly the pedlar disclosed his name, and met from his new acquaintance with ready sympathy for his bootless quest ; for the stranger related he had himself been made the victim of a similar hoax. He had once been told to go to Swaffham, in Norfolk, to the house of a pedlar who dwelt hard by the church, and there, in a corner of the garden, he should find gold. He had not obeyed the command, nor did he intend to do so, and the pedlar had better follow his example, and trouble himself no more. The pedlar replied that he should not come again to London Bridge in search of treasure. He was as good as his word. He returned with his dog to Swaffham, and, unlike the London lackpenny in Lydgate, he found that his visit to the metropolis had been of great advantage to him, for he discovered in his garden a large vessel full of gold. With part of this treasure-trove he built the parish church of Swaffham. There the pedlar and muzzled dog may still be seen carved on the seats and on the basement moulding of the tower.

Keeping still by the river we read of the Fishmongers' Guild, and of Machyn's record—

that on the 16th of February, 1557, was buried Master Pinnock, fishmonger, of the Brotherhood of Jesus, with eleven branched candlesticks and twelve great torches. Twelve poor men had good black gowns. There were four great tapers borne in the procession ; there was a great number of clerks and priests ; then came the mourners, and after them the Brotherhood of Jesus to the number of twenty-four, with black satin hoods having I.H.S. on them ; and after these the Company of the Fishmongers in their *livery*, or special dress : hence *Livery Companies* ; whose mourning attire the black satin hoods, probably, were.

The following notice of an occurrence at St. Dunstan's is, we feel sure, curious enough to excuse our making yet another extract from Mr. Wood's volume :

In the year 1417, and on the afternoon of Easter Sunday, a violent quarrel took place in this church, between the ladies of Lord Strange and Sir John Trussel, Knt. ; which involved the husbands, and at length terminated in a general contest. Several persons were seriously wounded, and an unlucky fishmonger, named Thomas Petwarden, was killed. The two great men who chose a church for their field of battle were seized and committed to the Poultry Compter ; and the Archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated them. On the 21st of April that prelate heard the particulars at St. Magnus' Church ; and finding Lord Strange and his lady the aggressors, he cited them to appear before him, the Lord Mayor, and others, on the 1st of May, at St. Paul's, and there submit to penance ; which was inflicted by compelling all their servants to march before the rector of St. Dunstan's in their shirts, followed by

the lord bareheaded, and the lady barefooted, and Kentwode, Archdeacon of London, to the church of St. Dunstan; where, at the hallowing of it, Lady Strange was compelled to fill all the sacred vessels with water, and offer an ornament value £10, and her husband a piece of silver.

We think attention should be called to the moderate price of this book, which is only 2s. 6d. Messrs. Burns & Oates have done well in adding it to their "Granville Popular Library" Series. There is a good index of places, with the book; but if in future editions it could be extended so as to include, at least, *some* persons and events it would be still more useful.

A History of the Seven Holy Founders of the Order of the Servants of Mary. By Father SOSTENE M. LEDOUX, of the same Order. Translated from the French. London: Burns & Oates.

The Seven Servite Saints. By the Rev. E. G. SWAINSON, O.S.M. Same Publishers.

THE "Seven Founders" of the Servites were canonized by Pope Leo XIII., on January 15, 1888. This very readable history comes therefore at an opportune moment. What is known of each of these holy Florentine merchants is not very much. But their history is one of the most interesting and instructive episodes of the thirteenth century. They all belonged to the merchant princes of the city of Florence. Meeting each other, in the first instance, in a pious Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, they were led to strip themselves of all earthly possessions, to retire to Monte Senario, and there to lead a life of solitude and austerity. The Order, which adopted the rule of St. Augustine, and professed a peculiar devotion to Our Lady's Dolours, was finally approved by Pope Benedict XI. in the year 1304. The present history is translated from the French of Père Ledoux. The author apparently owes a good deal to Père Soulier, who, besides the Life of St. Philip Benizi, recently translated, has also published a History of the Seven Founders. It is very well put together, the difficulties arising from the necessity of writing seven lives in one narrative being the less in this case, that what is known about the blessed companions is more or less common to all. Still, individual portraiture is by no means wanting, and, besides history, there is much edification and devotional spirit in the book. The English is very good, but we would protest against a barbarism like "Generalate," which is only fit for the constitutions of nuns. Father Swainson's pamphlet is a well written *résumé* of the book before us; it was published in the *Month* before this translation appeared.

De Scholarum Institutione Pristinâ et Recenti Disputatio. Auct. P. JOSEPHO KLEUTGEN, S.J. Parisiis: Lethielleux. 1889.

FATHER GIETMAN, a German Jesuit, has translated into Latin an essay (180 pp.) by Father Kleutgen, on schools and teaching. The writer advocates a return to old-fashioned ways, the reinstatement of Latin and Greek, the use of the Pagan classics, the employment of Latin, and much stricter discipline. Though written for Germans, his remarks have a wider application, and will be read everywhere with interest.

Some Theological and Philosophical Tractates.

DR. PETER EINIG, Professor of Theology in the Seminary of Treves, has published a short, but admirable treatise, *De SS. Eucharistiæ Sacramento*. He treats all the scholastic questions, and intermingles with his science not a little devotional matter. Whilst following Gregory of Valentia, De Lugo and Franzelin, as to the essence of the Sacrifice of the Mass, he rightly rejects the attractive but insufficient view of Sacrifice which Dr. Scheeben has recently popularized from Suarez.—A brochure on the power or efficacy of the Sacraments (*De Sacramentorum Virtute*) comes to us from an Irish student of the Minerva. It is well written, and is a handy manual on the Sacraments; though we cannot agree with the writer in what he says about the Sacraments being the "moral cause" of grace as well as the instrumental. Weldrick Brothers, of Dublin, are the printers.—Father Humphrey's reprint of his papers in the *Month* on the Holy Eucharist (*The Sacrament of Sacraments*) need only be mentioned. His explanations are often very striking and useful, as that on page 18, of the possibility of an Accident persisting after the Substance had ceased to be.—The Rev. Father Beste, of the Oratory, has published *The Catholic Doctrine of Hell*, from Hürter's *Compendium*, in good English. We find a suggestive note on the gradations of eternal punishment; but there is nothing about the possibility of its growing less severe.—*Un coup d'Œil sur la Création* is a reprint of papers which originally appeared in the *Magasin Littéraire et Scientifique* (a Belgian periodical). The writer, Don Pedro Nada, attacks Darwin and defies him to mention a new species which has proved permanent.—The Rev. T. Fleming, of Valladolid College, has printed (at his own expense, as he takes care to state) another portion of his College Lectures. This part treats the proof of God's existence (*De Ente Increato*).—A second edition of Father Jarvis's *Rosmini, A Christian Philosopher*, reaches us; it is chiefly taken up with an explanation of the Master's Ontological doctrines.—Mr. E. H. Dering, in printing an article on *The Philosopher of Rovereto*, which, he informs us, has been rejected by the *Month* and the DUBLIN REVIEW, shows that he is just the man whom Father Jarvis ought to see at the first opportunity.—The Rev. Father Wilfrid Lescher, O.P., in *The Evolution of the Body of Man* (Burns &

Oates) undertakes to prove that it is the soul which organizes the body at all its stages; and in *The Scholastic Idea of the Universal* (Gildea, London) he explains the process by which the mind knows things.—An anonymous writer puts some of the leading principles of Cardinal Newman's *Grammar of Assent* into the form of a dialogue: *A Study of Cardinal Newman's Grammar of Assent* (R. Washbourne).

Darwinism. An Exposition of the Theory of Natural Selection, with some of its Applications. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, LL.D., F.L.S., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

MR. WALLACE is an admirable writer, and from the first has been a much better exponent of the theory of Natural Selection than his great co-operator, Charles Darwin. The above work is of great interest and merits very careful consideration and treatment. We hope and intend to review it fully in the January number of this REVIEW. Meantime we will content ourselves with calling attention to the singular title which the author has given to his work, and which seems to us strangely inappropriate and misleading. The late Mr. Darwin, while assigning to Natural Selection the main agency in the origin of species, admitted other causes, such as use and disuse, sexual selection, climatic agencies, correlations of growth, &c. But he insisted in the strongest terms on its action as having produced our own race, and being enough to account for the highest human faculties. Mr. Wallace, on the other hand, while attributing to Natural Selection a far more universal and all-powerful effect in the production of species generally, and especially discrediting sexual selection, loudly proclaims its utter inability to call forth from amidst the highest beasts, the mathematical, musical and artistic faculties which now distinguish man. We have detected nothing in his work which is inconsistent with pious, Christian belief. Had Alfred Wallace, instead of Charles Darwin, been the conspicuous author of the theory of organic evolution, it would never have given rise to an outcry on the part of theologians, for he would not, as Darwin did, have merited it.

Institutiones logicales secundum principia S. Thomæ Aquinatis ad usum scholasticum accomodavit TILMANNUS PESCH, S.J. Pars prior. Summa praeceptorum Logicae. Friburgi: Herder. 1888.

TWICE we have had the opportunity of calling the attention of English scholars to recent philosophical treatises of German Jesuits. The "*Philosophia Naturalis*" of Father Pesch and the "*Institutiones Juris Naturalis*" of Father Mayer are now followed by Father Pesch's "*Institutiones Logicales*." The "*Æterni Patris*" has inaugurated an epoch in Catholic philosophy, and

numberless text-books following the principles of St. Thomas have made their appearance; and instead of the most baneful lack of class books from which our fathers suffered, we are falling into an *embarras de richesses*. Father Pesch, however, is not a mere reproducer of pre-existing books; and this text-book of logic is adapted for higher students. It will be divided into two parts, the "*Logica Minor*;" or, "*Summa præceptorum Logicæ*," which is before us, and the "*Logica Major*;"—a division which is not new, but only a restoration of the practice of the old philosophical schools for centuries. For the second part are reserved the more intricate questions connected with this department of philosophical training. Father Pesch avoids superfluous and useless questions; and his book will prove a safe guide to those students who wish for a solid and extensive presentment of philosophical science. The first chapter treats of the importance of studying logic, and is followed by a survey of the history of logic down to the present time. This is not intended to supersede the study of the history of philosophy as a whole; but it aims at giving the student valuable help towards thoroughly grasping the meaning and method of logical study. And a mere glance at this chapter (p. 25-102) will give an idea of the amount of labour which it entailed on Father Pesch; it is an elaborate historical treatise. Similar praise may be bestowed on the third chapter, "*Prænotiones Psychologicæ*," and to yet another chapter, "*Prænotiones Methodicæ*" (pp. 149-230) discussing the "*tres modi sciendi*." Then we come to the *Logica Minor* itself, where Father Pesch follows the old method in treating the "*prima, secunda et tertia mentis operationes*." Father Pesch has carefully inserted, as far as possible, the very words of St. Thomas, and, what we wish to emphasize, the Greek text of Aristotle.

BELLESHEIM.

Introductio in Corpus Juris Canonici, cum Appendice brevem Introductionem in Corpus Juris Civilis continente. Exaravit Dr. FRANCISCUS LAURIN. Friburgi: Herder. 1889.

THIS solid work, from the unwearied pen of Dr. Laurin, Professor of Canon Law in the University of Vienna, deserves a word of notice and praise. We feel confident that not even Italy, where the study of canon law most flourishes, can boast of such a work. Next to Italy there is perhaps no country where both Catholics and Protestants are devoting themselves to the study of canon law with such earnestness as Germany. Professor Laurin is in the front rank of German canonists. His work is based on the most recent scholarship. It introduces the student to the history, composition, and authority of the *Decretum Gratiani*, the single collections which preceded Gregory IX., and were repealed by his official edition, and last the collection of Gregory IX. and his successors. One of the intricate points which our author successfully treats is the relation

between the various collections. On the whole, this work is a storehouse of canonical science, and will speedily make its way into Catholic seminaries, where it will prove indispensable to both professors and students.

BELLESHEIM.

Juris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide pars prima: complectens Bullas Brevia Acta S. Sedis a Congregationis institutione ad praesens juxta temporis seriem disposita. Edidit RAPHAEL DE MARTINIS. 2 vols. Romæ: Typographia S. Congregationis de Prop. Fide. 1889.

FATHER DE MARTINIS, a Lazarist, is already favourably known by his "Studii storico-giuridici intorno alla nomina delle chiese cathedrali nei domini Sardi: Napoli, 1884," in which he defended the rights of the Holy See against the so-called Royal nomination of bishops. He now presents us with an instalment of a valuable collection, which will supply a want sorely felt by students of either canon law or Church history. The last edition of the Propaganda Bullarium, in eight volumes, was published at Rome in 1839. Only a few copies are to be found in Germany; and even in Rome, during a stay there of several years, I became convinced that the Propaganda Bullarium is a rare *κειμήλιον*. But, besides having grown rare, the first edition is now not up to requirements—so great a change have missionary countries undergone in the last fifty years. Soon after the Vatican Council, therefore, the Cardinals of Propaganda resolved to publish a corrected and enlarged edition. Monsignor Rosi-Benardi was appointed to the task, and began a very comprehensive collection of documents, but died before he could publish them. Father de Martinis has been able to make use of this collection. On June 3, 1872, the Cardinals took another line, and ordered that the new edition of the Bullarium should include only documents issued since 1622, when the Congregation of the Propaganda was instituted by Gregory XV. Cardinal Simeoni entrusted the work to Father de Martinis. As he states in his Preface, he has excluded documents that are merely of historical import, and this collection is therefore in the interests of canon law. This method has given him space for material gathered from other Roman archives, amongst which I will only mention the Secretaria Brevium, from which Cardinal Moran gathered a large number of valuable documents in his "Spicilegium Ossoriense" (Dublin, 1874–1885). De Martinis' collection is to consist of two parts: (1) Documents referring to missions as issued by the Popes themselves; (2) Decrees enacted by the Propaganda under authority of the Holy See. The work proper will be followed by an Appendix of Documents prior to 1622. The two bulky volumes before us open with the pontificate of Gregory XV. (1623), and come down to Clement XII. (1740). English scholars will be struck with the wealth of materials relating to the Church in Great Britain and Ireland. Father de Martinis' collection ought to have a very wide circulation.

A. BELLESHEIM.

1. *Correspondance intime du Comte de Vaudreuil et du Comte d'Artois pendant l'émigration (1789-1815)*: publiée avec introduction, notes et appendices. Par M. LEONCE PINGAUD. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.
2. *Charles X. et Louis XIX. en exil. Mémoires inédits du MARQUIS DE VILLENEUVE*. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.
3. *La Congrégation (1801-1830)*. Par M. GEOFFROY DE GRAND-MAISON. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.

1. **M.** DE VAUDREUIL was the most brilliant member of the little coterie with which Madame de Polignac surrounded Marie Antoinette. Although the queen herself never seems to have liked him, yet his intimacy with her favourite, and with the Comte d'Artois, made him welcome at Versailles. In the first days of the Revolution he was marked out for popular vengeance. On the day after the fall of the Bastille he accompanied the king's brother in his flight to Switzerland. Here they were soon joined by Madame de Polignac and her sister-in-law, Madame de Polastron. After a time the prince retired to Turin, and the correspondence between the two friends began. Most of the letters printed in this collection were written by Vaudreuil. They prove him to have been a man of sound judgment, and a model courtier. He saw that any attempt to induce foreign Powers to interfere on behalf of Louis XVI., at least during the Constituent Assembly, would only do mischief to the Royal cause. He was ready enough to oppose the Revolution, but he would not, as so many of the *émigrés* did, join the armies of the enemy in fighting against France. He did much to restrain the fiery temper of the Comte d'Artois. His prudent and respectful advice to the prince concerning his passion for Madame de Polastron was the means of avoiding much scandal. After twenty-five years of exile he returned to France, and was made a member of the Chamber of Peers. The Introduction, Notes and Appendices contributed by M. Pingaud are of great service to the reader. His sketch of the life and character of Vaudreuil is admirable in every way. The two heliogravure portraits of Mdme. de Polignac are well executed; they show that her influence was due to her mind and her manner rather than to any personal attractions.

2. The Comte d'Artois, just spoken of, became in due course Charles X., King of France. His exaggerated notions of the Royal power, however, soon sent him forth on another and a final exile. M. de Villeneuve was invited to join him, and lived for some years on terms of intimacy with the king's son, the Duc d'Angoulême (Louis XIX.), and his grandson, the Comte de Chambord (Henri V.). His description of the exiled Court deserves to be read by all who wish to understand the aims of the Legitimists. The account of the education of the Comte de Chambord will be found especially interesting.

3. It may be necessary to explain to the English reader that by "La Congrégation" is meant the Sodality of Mary, the male branch

of the "Children of Mary." During the last years of the Empire, and the whole of the Restoration, this confraternity became very widespread in France, and counted among its members many of the greatest men of the day in almost every walk of life. Its enemies accused it of being a mutual admiration society, membership of which was the sole road to wealth and power. M. de Grandmaison admits the influence of the "Congrégation," but maintains that its members owed their success to their own abilities, and not to any favour from their brethren. His book is a valuable contribution to the history of the revival of religion in France after the Revolution.

T. B. S.

Journal des Prisons de mon Père, de ma Mère et des Miennes. Par M^{me}. LA DUCHESSE DE DURAS, née NOAILLES. Deuxième édition. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1889.

WE are glad to see that M^{me}. de Duras's little book has reached a second edition. Just now we hear much of the wanton luxury, the irreligion, and the cowardice of the old noblesse. It is well that the memory of the exceptions to the general mode of life should be preserved. The Noailles family was pious, charitable and brave. M^{me}. de Duras's father, Marshal de Noailles, could say with truth : "At seventeen I mounted to the assault for my king ; at seventy-nine I mount the scaffold for my God." Although the authoress was imprisoned, and lost her father and mother, her sister-in-law and her niece, during the Terror, her book contains no bitter reflections on those who so grievously wronged her. *Si sic omnes !* Had the nobles as a body been like these, the Reign of Terror would never have been.

T. B. S.

Eos ; an Epic of the Dawn. By NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN, M.P. Regina, N.W.T. : Leader Company. 1889.

A VOLUME of poetry, dated from Regina, one of the infant cities—capitals of the future—of the great North-west of Canada, may fairly claim some notice on the score of its birthplace alone. "Eos," however, though marred here and there by an imperfect line, has sufficient beauty to be read with interest for its own sake as well. Its subject, a dream or vision in which the singer accompanies Aurora in her progress round the world, gives occasion for much fine descriptive writing ; for instance, this simile applied to the Ottawa :—

Like threads of silver run from silver coin
To coin, it wound between the hills, and spread
At intervals in wide and beauteous lakes.

The author is happier in his blank verse than in his lyrics, which are of the *vers de société* genre, but lack the polish required for that form of composition.

Songs of Remembrance. By MARGARET RYAN (Alice Esmonde).
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1889.

A STRAIN of genuine sorrow pervades these lyrics, well-styled from the *Irish Monthly*. An unusual power of pathetic expression is given to this singer of the sad, whose melancholy is only softened by the deep religious feeling breathed in her verse. The following sonnet, "Constant," will give an idea of her command of melodious expression for her feelings:—

I prize no aftermath in glen or wold,
No grasses 'mid brown stubble all alive
With early winter birds that scream and thrive.
I want no second summer's promised gold.
Dearer familiar paths I took of old,
Through meads thick-set with flowers for honied hive;
Dearer remembrances that must survive
All change, to me more dear a hundred-fold.
The hopes, the friends, the days for ever past,
The white sails set, the ocean wide before.
No venture now on any seas I cast,
No wreck provide for second surf-beat shore,
To one heart, cold and still, my heart clings fast,
My hands but dead hands clasp for evermore.

The little volume is of unusual merit, and well suited for a gift-book or school-prize.

Temperance Songs and Lyrics. By the Rev. J. CASEY, P.P.
Dublin: James Duffy & Co. 1889.

THE fact that this volume has gone into a second edition shows how well it answers the purpose for which it is intended. Its spirited dithyrambs in praise of tea, lemonade, and other innocuous substitutes for alcohol, have all the enthusiasm of a Bacchic ode, and would rejoice the heart of Father Mathew.

Elements of Infinitesimal Calculus. By JOSEPH BAYMA, S.J., Professor of Mathematics in Santa Clara College, S.J., Santa Clara, California. San Francisco: A. Waldteufel. 1889.

ONE of the chief features of this book is the reduction of a vast amount of material into a small compass—a change of great importance at the present day, because a student's time is now cut up into small pieces by the increasing number of subjects to be studied. The author has attained his aim to a certain extent, having compressed about 1200 pages, which fill three volumes of Todhunter, into one volume of about 280 pages. Nearly 100 pages (Sections II. and III. in the second part) are devoted to applications of integral calculus to geometry and mechanics, whilst Section II. in

Part I. contains a considerable number of practical exercises on maxima and minima. These advantages will make the new book very valuable for a short course of higher mathematics.

On the other hand, we may point out a few things which make the manual less useful for modern teaching. We can scarcely allow that doing away with the method of "limits" altogether is a wise change, particularly as the greater number of lecturers in higher mathematics will still cling to a method which has decided advantages over the infinitesimal method.

It is all very well for a born mathematician and keen philosopher to conceive these "fluxions," or "nascent quantities," but ordinary students, who have spent years at elementary mathematics, find it exceedingly hard to get a grasp of quantities which may be called "next to nothing," or "larger than anything." How many people who study only for practical purposes, care for philosophical speculations? And yet the author must have written his book for inferior students as well as for geniuses. In teaching higher mathematics we have to battle with two great difficulties. Firstly, the student has had up to now to do with only well-defined rules and quantities, which keep their rigidity throughout all operations. Even in trigonometry he is satisfied with a strong belief that $\tan 0 = \sin 0$, and that tangent and secant become parallel at 90° , &c. But write on the blackboard in the first lesson of higher mathematics some of the simplest formulæ such as: $\frac{0}{4}$; the student is quite perplexed and does not know which is which. Call 0 (philosophically) a quantity *in fieri*, and say therefore $\frac{4}{0} = \infty$. That does not make the beginner any wiser. Now replace 0 by a very small quantity, say $\frac{1}{100}$. At once $\frac{4}{\frac{1}{100}} = 400$ becomes evident. Make the denominator 100 times smaller, and $\frac{4}{\frac{1}{10000}} = 4000$ is quite as clear. Continue this process, so that the student can see the relation by a constant decreasing and growing, and finish by saying that if the denominator $\frac{1}{1000 \dots}$ is equal to "next to nothing," the value $\frac{4}{0} = \infty$ is infinitely large, the first step is made; and a similar demonstration will make the equation $\frac{0}{4} = 0$, quite as intelligible. The bridge from concrete to abstract notions, from definite to indefinite quantities cannot be constructed all at once. A missionary, if he will bring home a religious truth to a savage, has to choose the most suitable form, although he himself beholds what he says in a different and much truer light. What should we do in teaching chemistry without the atomic theory? or in light and heat, and other branches, without the conception of ethereal molecules of some definite size? Small as these creatures

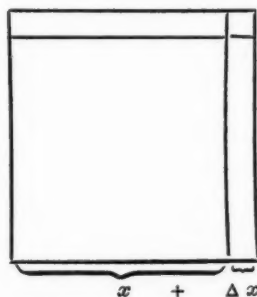
are, if they do exist, we can handle and move them about in any direction just as if they were large bodies.

We admit that the method of limits can be misunderstood and wrongly applied. The author refers on pages 42-45 to misapplications of the limit made by authors of the modern school, and he tries to show that the method of limits is against nature and reason. He seems to find fault with Todhunter. In the *Dif. Calculus*, page 4, we find : $\lim \frac{\sin \theta}{\theta} = 1$, if $\theta = 0$. We can scarcely imagine that

Todhunter means to express an absurdity which he cannot see. Unfortunately, we have for the absolute 0 and the infinitely small quantity the same symbol, namely 0 ; also for the absolute unity and the quantity which is on the point of becoming a unit the same figure, namely 1. If $\theta = 0$ (absolute) we may write $\frac{0}{0} = 1 =$ ratio between

two coinciding mathematical points. If $\theta = 0$ (infinitely small), then 1 is only approaching the absolute 1. No doubt, the confusion caused by mixing up absolute quantities and infinitesimals must have led the author to a misconception of the term "limit."

Let us take the same example, which the author introduces on page 42, in order to prove the absurdity of this term. Let y be a function of x in $y = x^2$. If we increase x by the very small Δx , for which Todhunter places h , then : $y + \Delta y = (x + \Delta x)^2 = x^2 + 2\Delta x + (\Delta x)^2$. This equation must hold good for any definite increment, and it depends upon the keenness of a philosophical mind to venture the safe jump from Δx to dx , which we arrive at by differentiation, or by a simple operation. In the latter case the student is strongly supported by a diagram, clumsy as it may be. Subtract x^2 , $(dx)^2$, being a differential of second Order, will drop first, before the two rectangles



$2x \times dx$ approach to nothing, therefore $dy = 2x \times dx$. If $dx = 0$ (absolute) the whole theory must fall to the ground, and that cannot be the teaching of the celebrated mathematicians who advocate the theory of limits. Differential quotients, which involve geometrical

operations, allow us to retain a clear conception, even if $dx=0$ (absolute). Thus $\frac{dy}{dx} = \frac{0}{0} = 2x$ would represent the two straight lines, or the half perimeter of the square.

Similarly $\lim \frac{\Delta y}{\Delta x} = \frac{dy}{dx} = \frac{0}{0} = \tan a$. Of course, in the case, when $dx=0$ (absolute) an integration would be impossible.

Of the numerous applications of the very important term "limit," we give only one illustration more. Some mathematicians sum the convergent series $\lim (1 + \frac{1}{n})^n = 1 + 1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2 \times 3} + \frac{1}{2 \times 3 \times 4} + \dots$ up to 2,718281. . . Others to 2,718281828459. . . . Evidently "limit" has quite a different application; it does not mean a quotient, and is far from approaching 0, as it denotes a sum of a series containing real quantities, ending in the infinitum; but as we can never reach the infinitum, therefore it may seem as absurd to talk about a limit, as if we write: $\lim (1 + n)^n = \infty$ (n taken as an integer and positive quantity).

It would be out of place here to extend criticism further. Here let it suffice to remark that, as any mathematician can see, "limit" is not an over-rigid term; there is no absurdity in its use, it assists greatly the grasp of a definite quantity, which may be a quotient, or the sum of a convergent series. It tells us simply to cut off somewhere the useless part of a long-tailed series. The basis of the hyperbolic logarithms, and many other constants of highest importance for theoretical and practical purposes, suffer very little by their being irrational, because the term "limit" allows us to make the series as long as we please, and as definite as we like. The philosophical and more adequate conceptions must be left to those students who have plenty of time for contemplation. Finally, it may be remarked that English manuals of higher mathematics are generally too theoretical, too dry and abstruse. Built up by half-explained mechanisms, they show great and deep learning, but do not aim sufficiently at imparting to the student useful knowledge. The student, if he is not sharp, has to grope about in the dark for months without knowing what he is aiming at. We have come across many students disheartened and disgusted with a study so beautiful in itself. Why not apply the first steps of differentiation to a simple problem like this: Divide a straight line a in two parts, so as to form a maximum of area? To make the calculus interesting and useful is the second great difficulty.

If, in another edition, Father Bayma would adopt our suggestion, if he would not discard altogether the method of "limits," particularly at the beginning, if he would introduce more diagrams and simple practical illustrations, he would have provided us with a very valuable manual, particularly as the arrangement of his book is remarkably good.

F. LANDOLT.

The Dramatic Works of Edwin Atherstone, Author of "The Fall of Nineveh," "Israel in Egypt," &c. &c. &c. Edited by his daughter, MARY ELIZABETH ATHERSTONE. London: Elliot Stock. 1888.

THIS book contains "Pelopidas; or, the Deliverance of Thebes," "Philip," and "Love, Poetry, Philosophy, and Gout:" a comedy, and two tragedies. These dramas see the light under peculiar circumstances. Written between sixty and seventy years ago, they were frequently offered to the then great London theatres between the years 1824 and 1834, but were never accepted, though one of the Kembles, as well as Edmund Kean, expressed willingness to take part in either of the two first plays. The closet is always a great distance from the stage, and speculation now upon what might have been their fate upon the boards is useless; but these dramas, possibly suited to a taste long passed away, are undoubtedly interesting reading, and make a fitting volume for the library. The characters are distinct and clearly cut, the diction flowing and often eloquent, and the plays are full of graceful imagery. A willow has fancifully suggested to Pelopidas a lady's image. We have space for a portion only of his description:—

Hast thou not seen a willow, by the brink
Of some bright stream, when the warm south-west comes
To toy, and whisper with it;—how each leaf,
And long, down-drooping branch waves gracefully:—
Bends inward now—as from the breeze it shrank
For that it kiss'd too lovingly:—now wafts
Sidelong its feathery hands, as it would say,
Farewell—farewell:—then downwards drops its leaves
Into the dimpling stream, and, lifting them,
Seems as 'twould rain a shower of crystal tears,
For that the fickle zephyr had gone by.

The book is beautifully printed.

Mémoires et Souvenirs du Baron Hyde de Neuville: la Révolution, le Consulat, l'Empire. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1888.

M. HYDE DE NEUVILLE was a mere boy at the time of the opening of the States-General of 1789, yet he took an active part in the terrible events which resulted in the death of Louis XVI. Sent to Paris, in 1791, to complete his studies for the army, he neglected his books and gave himself up entirely to politics. He was, as he says, a "furious royalist;" his opinions were extreme, and nothing could stop him from expressing them. He was a constant attendant at many anti-revolutionary clubs, where he stirred up his faint-hearted comrades to battle with the sans-culottes. Once he held a public discussion in the street with the infamous Théroigne de Mérencourt, and, though the audience was hostile, gained a vic-

tory over that disgrace of her sex. The Tuileries were open to him at all hours. The queen often took notice of the devoted youth who was always at hand in moments of danger. One day, as she was entering her carriage, she pointed him out to Madame Elizabeth, and said, with a tender look, "There's a good young man." To his dying day he never forgot that look and those words. A large portion of his *Mémoires* is taken up with an account of her sufferings during her imprisonment, and of the plots for her release. When Louis XVI. was tried by the Convention the young royalist went about among the members, persuading the waverers, encouraging the king's friends, and leading the opposition to his foes. The scene of the three votings is described with great power. When all was over, the venerable Malesherbes, the king's advocate, left the Convention, leaning on the arm of M. de Neuville, who confided to him a plan for rescuing their Sovereign on the way to the guillotine. Louis himself, however, forbade any such attempt. Had the *noblesse* as a body been possessed of anything like the courage of this youth, the unfortunate monarch would never have found himself in such straits.

We have not space to follow M. de Neuville through his subsequent adventures. He was imprisoned and exiled; he returned in secret, and worked with all his might for the restoration of the Bourbons; he refused to swear allegiance to Napoleon and was again exiled, this time to the United States; finally, he returned on the downfall of the Empire, and became a trusty Minister under Louis XVIII. and Charles X. Madame de Neuville bravely and prudently seconded her husband's efforts. To her he attributes his deliverance from many perils. The account of her journey to Schönbrunn to appeal to Napoleon in person is one of the most interesting episodes in this fascinating book.

T. B. S.

The Feudal History of the County of Derby. By JOHN PYM YEATMAN. Section III. London. 1889.

AFTER a somewhat long delay the third section of Mr. Yeatman's History of Derbyshire has appeared. The author's method is his own, and the value of the book, if it ever comes to a conclusion, cannot be questioned; at least so far as Derbyshire is concerned. There are given, to all interested in that county, in Mr. Yeatman's volumes copies of original documents taken from the Public Record Office, British Museum, and elsewhere, which relate to county affairs and people. Upon these collections it is obvious that every county historian must found his history. Most writers of such histories keep their collections sacred, and tell the story they contain, with a result that page after page of print is filled up by disquisitions and digressions upon a great variety of subjects, more or less interesting, but not specially so to those who look for information about that particular district. Mr. Yeatman, evidently a

thorough and hard-working student, gives the Derbyshire public the materials he has excavated with great labour from the mass of rolls and records lying dust-covered in our national archives. He has broken up the ground, sifted and sorted, cast on one side what did not illustrate the county he is interested in, and printed in the three sections already published of his "History" the genuine and true records of Derbyshire, with which all future historians of the county will have to reckon. It is not light reading: that may be taken for granted: but as far as the documents go, we have a mine of information ready to our hands. We do not profess to agree with the author as to the good obtainable by the abuse he heaps upon those he disagrees with, or such as, in his opinion, have done him harm; neither do we suppose that his subscribers would much care to bind up with a book of permanent interest the vigorous relations of the author's ephemeral quarrels. Still we must take Mr. Yeatman as we find him, and he is never quite happy apparently unless he is belabouring some one or other. We need only add that the volume contains fifteen sections, amongst the more interesting of which we note the "Hundred of Scarsdale and the Manor of Chesterfield;" the "History of the Wake Family," and "The Parish Church of Chesterfield."

The Story of the Nations: The Hansa Towns. By HELEN ZIMMERN. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1889.

THIS is the twentieth volume of the "Story of the Nations" Series, and is quite up to the high standard which most of the contributors to the Series have attained. Miss Helen Zimmern tells clearly and in a very interesting way the story of a most remarkable episode in the development of commercial enterprise and municipal freedom in Northern Europe. The illustrations are of varying quality, some very good, some wretchedly processed, and one or two might well have been omitted, as, for instance, the page full of horrors entitled "Justice in the Fifteenth Century."

The Popes and the Hohenstaufen. By UGO BALZANI. London: Longmans. 1889.

THIS is one of the series of historical manuals published under the title of "Epochs of Church History," and edited by Professor Mandell Creighton. Unlike most elementary manuals, it is in great part the result of original research carried on by its author in preparation for a larger work. Mr. Balzani's sympathies are hardly Papal, and as his standpoint is not that of a Catholic, the view he takes of the struggle with the German Emperors is not one that we can accept. But he writes in a spirit of fairness and

his fuller treatment of the same interesting period will no doubt prove interesting and suggestive. If we may criticize details, we would suggest that the indifferent use in the same work of the terms Welf and Weiblingen on one page, and Guelfph and Ghibelline on another, is likely to confuse some readers; while to write of Barbarossa being crowned under "the domed roof of St. Peter's" calls up an image of the modern church rather than of the old basilica.

The Dark Ages. Essays illustrating the state of Religion and Literature in the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Twelfth Centuries. By S. R. MAITLAND, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c. New Edition, with an Introduction by FREDERICK STOKES, M.A. London: John Hodges, 1889.

There is not time this quarter to do more than announce the receipt of this re-issue of Maitland's famous essays by Mr. Hodges in his "Catholic Standard Library." The volume is printed in large, clear type, and is well got up. Catholics will long feel the gratitude they owe to Maitland for his sweeping slashes at the veil of the "Great Protestant Tradition" which hung over the English mind as to the laziness and ignorance of monks, &c. &c., during the "Dark"—i.e., Catholic Ages. The "tradition," however, is not yet swept out of the popular imagination; and we could have wished that this reprint had been brought out at a more popular price than twelve shillings. Even at that figure, however, we have no doubt that it will reach many new readers and do them good, whilst its quaint style will, at the same time, interest them; and we are grateful to Mr. Hodges for it.

THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

- Life and Letters of Father Damien, the Apostle of the Lepers.* Edited with an Introduction by his Brother, FATHER PAMPHILE. (1s.)—*Mary, Queen of Scots.* By the Hon. Mrs. MAXWELL SCOTT.—*St. Columbanus (539-615).* By the Rev. JOHN GOLDEN.—*A Model Woman.* By his Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.—*Father Mathew, the Apostle of Temperance.* By the Rev. W. H. COLOGAN.—*Ven. Margaret Clitheroe.* By Rev. A. B. GURDON.—*Franz Witt.* By H. S. BUTTERFIELD. (Biographical Series, 1d. each.)
- Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England.* By His Eminence CARDINAL NEWMAN. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. (A reprint, by special permission of his Eminence, in numbers, at 2d. each.)

"Collected Publications of the C.T.S.," vol. vii. (1s). *Gradus ad Fidem*; or, the Logic of Faith. By R     F. R. CONDER, M.A. (6d.).—*The Pope and the Bible* (an explanation of the case of M. Lasserre, and of the attitude of the Catholic Church to popular Bible reading). By RICHARD F. CLARKE, S.J. (6d.).—*The Bible and the Reformation*, and Notes on Texts alleged against St. Peter's Supremacy. By C. F. B. ALLNUTT (2d. each).—*Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction*. By JOHN MORRIS, S.J. (1d.).—*Total Abstinence*, from a Catholic point of view. By the Rev. W. H. COLOGAN (1d.).—"The Penny Library of Catholic Tales," No. 9.—*A Companion to High Mass*, for the use of non-Catholics ($\frac{1}{2}$ d.), &c. &c.

"Stories of the Seven Sacraments," Nos. 1, 2, 3. By LOUISA EMILY DOBR    .

All the above, London: Catholic Tract Society, 18, West Square, S.E.

We feel bound to find space for at least this enumeration of some of the more valuable or interesting of the numerous publications which this energetic Society has recently sent to us. The Society deserves the highest praise for its selection of works and for the admirable manner in which it brings them out, often at only nominal prices. We should like further to call attention to the Society's really excellent "Life and Letters of Father Damien," which is not only the cheapest, but most complete record of the Apostle of the Lepers of Molokai yet published in English. If the reader would peruse with it the little American volume, "The Lepers of Molokai," by Charles W. Stoddard, who visited the island of Molokai in 1884 (Notre Dame, Indiana: "Ave Maria" Press. Ten cents, or 6d. at an English Catholic bookseller's), he would have no reason to regret not being able to purchase Mr. Edward Clifford's "Father Damien," a reprint of articles from the *Nineteenth Century*, published by Macmillan and Co. at 2s. 6d. The articles were admirable as an eloquent tribute from a Protestant to the heroic devotion of a Catholic priest, and did much to call the attention of England to Father Damien's work; but their republication in a volume is much marred by the introductory statement of the author's personal reasons for not himself becoming a Catholic. This gratuitous proceeding (for we do not think the public wanted to know why Mr. Clifford—a Protestant—remained a Protestant) is done in words, the bad taste of which in a tribute to the memory of one who was before all things a Catholic, and Mr. Clifford's friend, can, we think, scarcely be questioned. Mr. Clifford's "Father Damien" also lacks the interesting collection of letters which Father Damien's brother has added to the C.T.S.'s "Life." This latter has also a good portrait of the Father before that seizure by the disfiguring leprosy, the news of which broke his mother's heart. The other volumes of biography and controversy enumerated above will sufficiently explain themselves.

We have received the first three of Miss Dobrée's "Stories of the Seven Sacraments"—viz.: "Blanche's Baptism," "The Mark that was never rubbed out" (Confirmation), and "Brian Daly" (Holy Communion). They are excellent little stories, brightly and pleasantly written, and likely to do good. The characters are neatly drawn, and have individuality; the local colouring (scenes are laid in England, Ireland, and Italy) is faithful, and the instruction blended with the tales is never obtrusive.

Books of Devotion and Spiritual Reading.

1. *Life of St. Bonaventure*. Translated by L. C. SKEY. London: Burns & Oates.
2. *A Heavenly Gift*. By FR. FRANCIS X. SAVELLI, O.C.D. 1889.
3. *The Will of God*. Translated from the French by M. A. M. New York, &c: Benziger Brothers. 1889.
4. *Twelfth-tide and its Octave*. Eight Meditations. Translated from the Italian of Father VENTURA. By ALEXANDER WOOD, M.A. London: Burns & Oates.
5. *Lessons from the Best of Books: the Crucifix*. Dublin: M. H. G & Son. 1889.
6. *A Novena in honour of the Holy Face of our Lord*. Adapted from the French of the Abbé JANVIER. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1889.
7. *The Sacred Heart in the School*. Messenger Office, St. Helens. 1889.
8. *Novena to Our Lady of Perpetual Help*. By Father ST. OMER, C.S.S.R. Boston: Thomas Noonan & Co. 1890.
9. *The Garden of Divine Love*. By the Rev. J. A. MALTUS, O.P. London: Burns & Oates.
10. *A Practical Guide to Meditation or Mental Prayer*. By a MISSIONARY PRIEST. Leamington: Art & Book Co. 1889.
11. *Prayers for Mass, &c.* By ST. LEONARD of Port Maurice. London: Burns & Oates.
12. *The Kingdom of God*. By the Rev. CHARLES McDERMOTT ROE. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates.
13. *Manual of the Third Order of St. Norbert*. Compiled by the Rev. MARTIN GEUDENS. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

14. *The Perfection of Man in Charity.* By FR. H. REGINALD BUCKLER, O.P. London: Burns & Oates.
15. *The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi.* Edited by His Eminence Cardinal Manning. Third Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1889.

1. A short life of St. Bonaventure (260 pp.) translated evidently from the French (although the original is not mentioned); devotional and complete, and fairly successful as a translation.

2. A little brochure intended to assist the young in preserving the grace of their first Communion. The writer—or adapter—dates from Oban, and the work bears the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Argyre, and is dedicated to the Marquis of Bute.

3. A small treatise, authorized by the Archbishop of New York, containing very admirable reflections on the Will of God, with St. Leonard's method of hearing Mass.

4. A prettily got-up series of eight Meditations, each containing seven or eight devout points for the Octave of the Epiphany. It is well translated.

5. No writer's name is given to this little volume of Meditations on the Crucifix, but it seems to be translated from the French, and it comes from Dublin. It is acceptable as a book of spiritual reading.

6. The Sisters of the Divine Compassion, of New York, in whose convent is erected the Confraternity of Reparation of the Holy Face of our Lord, have translated and adapted certain reflections and prayers of Abbé Janvier, and here publish them with a preface by Monsignor Preston, and the approbation of the Archbishop.

7. A small book, printed at St. Helens, and bearing the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Southwark, recommending to the young the apostleship of prayer.

8. A lady, Rose Alma Curies, has translated, and a Boston firm has published, Father St. Omer's Novena to the Blessed Virgin as venerated under the title of Perpetual Help. After an historical notice, there are nine considerations from the writings of St. Alphonsus, and prayers.

9. This new devotional work by Father Maltus is characterized by that special feature so well known to those who have used his other books—direct fervent acts of divine love. The divine attributes, the mystery of the Incarnation, and the revelation of the Divine Spirit are all used for this purpose with very devout effect.

10. The priest who compiles this guide to meditation is a little rigid in his rules, as if unwilling to let in a good thought which did not come in its proper place; but the treatise will be useful for the laity, as it gives very full and clear details.

11. No translator's name is given to this version (very well printed) of St. Leonard's "Method" and other prayers. The Ordinary of the Mass is added, and the book will be an acceptable manual for Mass, Confession, and Communion.

12. Father McDermott Roe makes a praiseworthy attempt to exhort Christians to aspire to life everlasting. With the titles of "The Prospect," "The Exile," "The Way," "The Leader," and others of a similar nature, he writes fifteen chapters on the Kingdom of God. The Bishop of Salford, in a short preface, highly commends the work.

13. The Third Order of St. Norbert was remodelled and finally constituted by Pope Benedict XIV. A distinguished Premonstratensian here gives us, in a neat and convenient manual, the history, spirit, rules and formularies of the Association, which, he informs us, is spreading in this country.

14. The object of the Rev. Father Buckler's useful and interesting book is to lay down the principles of the spiritual life for the benefit of religious and seculars. It is divided into two parts: in the first, Perfection is defined and explained; and in the second, the Life of Charity is drawn out in all its details. The writer shows how "Charity" and "Perfection" are synonymous, and how every other virtue is only a virtue in so far as it ministers to the love of God above all things. There is a special chapter on the perfection of religious. The spiritual life, as distinguished from the merely natural, is well and fully brought out. It is shown how Charity must grow by Prayer, must be developed by Mortification, and must be ordered by Discretion. There is a section on "Charity in Action," in which the perfection of daily life is explained, and one on "Charity in Suffering," which would have been more forcible if the writer had taken higher ground, and explained the preciousness of suffering, not so much by its taming our nature (Our Lady did not require this) as by its intensifying our act of love. The book is written in an easy and effective style, though here and there the sentences require one to read them twice over in order to get their meaning clear. There is an air of freedom and simplicity in Father Buckler's spiritual views. He goes much to the Fathers, to St. Thomas, and to the great contemplative writers; and the apt citations with which he enriches his pages would of themselves make the treatise valuable.

15. This third edition of an ever-popular book is enriched by a new preface from the pen of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop. He speaks in feeling and forcible terms of that marvellous gift of poetry, of emotional sympathy with nature, and of the vision of God in nature, which distinguishes St. Francis and his companions. And he ends with a sentence which may well be quoted: "The habit of faith may tend to pious credulity, as the habit of unbelief certainly leads to an impious infidelity. But if we are to choose between seeing God everywhere or seeing God nowhere, who could hesitate? It were better to believe in all the legends of St. Francis than to deify ourselves in a forsaken and fatherless world."

Record of Roman Documents.

ALLOCUTION OF POPE LEO XIII., delivered in Consistory on June 30, 1889, and dealing with the troubles of the Church in Italy, and especially with the outrage offered to religion by the honour paid to the memory of Giordano Bruno. He calls attention to the revolting display of irreligion on the occasion, and requests the Italian bishops to make known to their people the deplorable state of things in Rome, and to encourage them to pray for the Holy See. *Vid. Tablet*, July 13, 1889, and *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Sept. 1889.

CONFRATERNITIES.—The bishops of countries subject to Propaganda will receive power of erecting sodalities, of blessing beads and scapulars, just as they did before the decree of July 16, 1887, which limited the power to the Superior of the respective religious orders. This decree is now declared not to refer to missionary countries, so that no permission is required from the regular Superiors. For the enjoyment of the full privileges of the Rosary Confraternity, however, recourse is necessary to the Master General of the Friars Preachers. Enrolment, moreover, is necessary, and if the confraternity be not canonically erected, the names should be forwarded to a mission or convent where it is so erected. (June 1889.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Sept. 1889.

DIOCESAN SYNODS.—The Bishop of Bayonne, on account of the large numbers of his clergy, and of their distances from the episcopal city, has received permission to limit the attendance at Synod to the following members of his diocese:—(1) the Canons of the Cathedral; (2) the Honorary Canons; (3) the Archpriests and Deans (forty-two); (4) the Superiors and Professors of the Seminary; (5) the Superiors of the Ecclesiastical Colleges; (6) one parish priest from each deanery, chosen by and representing the deanery. (*S. R. C.*, Feb. 16, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, July 13, 1889.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII., in which he renews his previous command that the month of October should be marked by even greater devotion to Our Blessed Lady, and directs that for the future special devotions to S. Joseph shall be added to those of his virgin spouse. The special form of prayer he has fixed. He gives the grounds of Catholic devotion to S. Joseph, and of his having been chosen as patron of the Universal Church: (Aug. 15, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 24, 1889.

IRREGULARITY.—A student applies for, and is refused, a dispensation under the following circumstances:—He suffers from a weakness and deformity of hand. Without any observable irregularity he can raise the chalice, raise and divide the host, and perform similar ceremonies. But the crosses he forms upon himself and the chalice are necessarily irregular, as his hand forms almost a right

angle with his arm. Urgency was not declared, so the answer was *Non expedire*. (*S. C. C.*, Dec. 15, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 22, 1889.

ST. JOSEPH. *Vid. ENCYCLICAL*.

LETTER FROM THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS AND REGULARS, addressed to all the Bishops of the world, calling upon them to have the Pope's Allocution (*vid. ALLOCUTION*) of June 30, 1889, read in all their churches, to enlarge upon the same in their sermons and pastoral letters, to warn their flocks against secret societies, and to encourage them to the defence of the liberty and rights of the Holy See. The Bishops are to order public prayers and pious works in expiation of the insult offered to God by the erection in the streets of Rome of a statue of Giordano Bruno. (July 18, 1889.) *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Sept. 1889.

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS AND DEATH-BEDS.—In public matrimonial impediments the Ordinary has the power of dispensing dying persons, and of sub-delegating the same power to the parish priests, but only when there is no time to have recourse to the Ordinary. (*Cong. S. Offic.*, Mar. 1, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 17, 1889.

OCTOBER, *vid. ENCYCLICAL*.

RELICS OF THE TRUE CROSS AND BISHOPS.—As Relics of the True Cross are becoming every day more scarce, and as there is ground for fearing that soon it will be difficult to procure them for Bishops, to whose dignity it is becoming that they should carry them, the Holy Father wishes all Bishops possessing Relics of the True Cross to have them safely deposited in a reliquary, and at death to transmit them to their successors. (*Cong. S. Inquis.*, Mar. 25, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 31, 1889.

REVELATIONS OF MATHILDE MARCHAT.—A letter from Cardinal Monaco confirms the two decrees already issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition, condemning the conduct of Mathilde and her supporters, and rejecting the supposed revelations. (Feb. 27, 1889.) *Vid. Tablet*, Aug. 3, 1889.

SERVITE CHURCHES AND PLENARY INDULGENCES.—A Plenary Indulgence, similar to that of the *Portiuncula*, is granted on the Third Sunday of September to the faithful of either sex as often as (*toties quoties*) they visit a Church of the Servites or one in which the Confraternity of the Seven Dolours has been canonically established. Usual conditions. Time—from First Vespers to sunset on the Feast itself. (*S. C. Indulg.*, Jan. 27, 1888.) *Vid. Tablet*, Sept. 14, 1889.

VESTMENTS, MATERIAL FOR.—Permission was given, in consideration of the poverty of the Churches of the Diocese of Gnesen and Posen, to make vestments from a material which is only half silk, the other half being wool, cotton or linen, the silk to appear on the outside. (*S. R. C.*, Mar. 23, 1882.) *Vid. Tablet*, Sept. 14, 1889.

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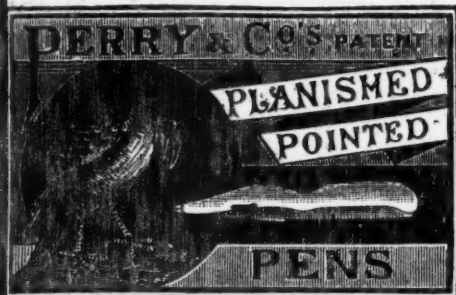
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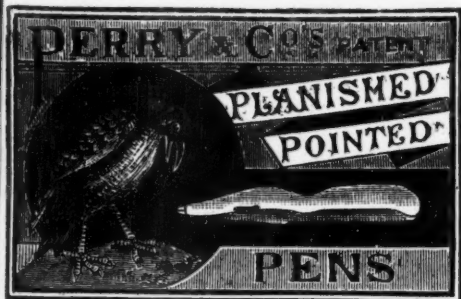
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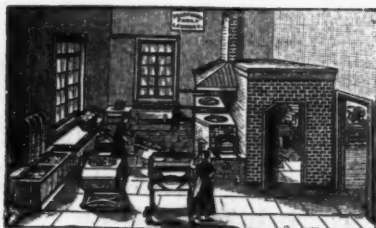
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